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The Week

THE *New Europe* has recently been publishing a series of articles by "Rurik" on the Bolsheviks. The writer arrives at this conclusion: "Russians are now faced with the choice between the Bolsheviks and the Germans. . . . In this struggle their (the Bolsheviks') interests are at one with all those Russians who place the welfare of their country above that of their own class." From this conclusion the distinguished historian Vinogradoff violently dissents in the issue of the *New Europe* for May 2, urging no alliance with the Bolshevist forces. In the issue of May 9 appears a counter protest "from a competent Russian source":

> As one who has returned from Russia recently, an eye-witness of events there, may I enter a no less emphatic protest against Professor Vinogradoff's criticism of "Rurik's" extremely sane and moderate article on the Bolsheviks? . . . As it happens, his ("Rurik's") main point is entirely supported by all the members of the *intelligentsia* and aristocracy with whom I have come in contact before leaving Petrograd. These are the men and women who have suffered most by the last revolution, yet even those among them who most detested the Bolsheviks frankly declared the idea of German rule to be the more intolerable alternative.

Allied statesmen cannot keep too clearly in mind that any attempt to get Russian help in prosecuting the war against Germany by making war on Russia's present rulers will end in something worse than failure. We agree with the *New Europe* in not desiring to see Bolshevism triumphant in Europe, but we also agree with that enlightened periodical in being willing to look facts in the face.

FROM time to time stories come from the rumor factories of Berne, Copenhagen, or Athens, to the effect that Germany's junior partners, Bulgaria and Turkey, are on the point of breaking away and setting up in business for themselves. A fortnight ago that old fox, Czar Ferdinand, felt intensely dissatisfied because he had been allowed only to lick the neck of the Servian bottle, which Austria was to drain, and had received only a little scrap of Rumania, which latter rejoiced in the whole of Bessarabia as the reward of defeat. Later we learn that Turkey, famine and plague-stricken, her army deserting, her populace murmuring, threatens to leave her powerful ally in the lurch. Undoubtedly, both Bulgarian and Turkish discontent exists, and will continue to exist till the end of the war. But no split in the Central Powers' alliance need be expected on that account. Germany has exhausted all the resources of Turkey and Bulgaria, and does not expect any substantial help from them during the remainder of the war. They, on the other hand, have become absolutely dependent upon German good will and victory for survival.

IN spite of persistent reports of economic exhaustion, Germany continues to plan for the extension of her foreign trade. The European Trading Company, now established at Bremen, is reaching out for the control of imports from Russia, Finland, Persia, and the Far East. The North German Lloyd is one of the principal promoters of this enterprise. Associated with the company are committees, representing a number of leading importing and exporting firms, prominent among them being the concerns which deal in cotton and wool. A similar company, in which Krupps and the Hamburg-American corporation are reported to be heavily interested, has lately been formed at Hamburg. While the terms of participation in some of the undertakings of these companies appear to be regarded, in some quarters, as burdensome, and the companies themselves as monopolistic, the movement itself, backed as it is by the Imperial Government, indicates that German business, in spite of the embarrassments of war, is taking a long look ahead. A correspondent of the London *Times* writes that the Rhenish Iron and Steel combination is reported to have acquired, since 1915, the larger part of the wolfram mining properties in South America, and is working the mines through an agency in Buenos Aires. Germany's avowed purpose to recover her lost trade in South America lends interest, also, to the announcement that the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan Mail Steamship Company) has at last decided to establish a line to Buenos Aires and Rio Janeiro, by way of Singapore and Cape Town.

THE Senate now seems to be on the point of adopting a proposal for shutting up its own wind-bags during the period of the war. No Senator, under the new regulation, shall talk for more than an hour on any bill—surely a very liberal talk-ration as such things go in these times. But Senators are not like other people in this regard. They are the millionaires, as it were, of speech, and what would appear to a mere Representative or Deputy a liberal allowance of argumentation will scarcely support them in the oratorical style to which they have been accustomed. So they should have their just meed of praise. You should not measure the widow's mite by its absolute size, but by the amount of sacrifice it represents. Just so the Senators. It is not that they will actually suffer, physically, for want of a talk safety-valve. An hour on every bill will keep each one of them in reasonably good health. But it is what they have given up that counts.

MR. NEWCOMB CARLTON, president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, in commenting on the company's flat refusal to accept the report of the National War Labor Board concerning the dispute over the unionization of Western Union employees, says, "If I have to choose between allowing the unionization of the essential employees of the Western Union Telegraph Company and Government control, I would choose the latter." This sort of intransigent attitude on the part of employers, at a time when their employees are being constantly reminded of the duty of submitting their grievances to the War Labor Board and abiding by its decision, appears scarcely calculated to produce the unity of all classes so essential to the successful prosecution of the war. Of course, there may be two opinions as to the merits of the particular dispute, but there can scarcely be two contradictory views of the proper attitude

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for leaders on both sides of labor controversies to take towards the Government agency created to deal with just such situations. If the Western Union directors wanted to dispose their fellow-citizens favorably to Government telegraphs, they could scarcely choose a more effective method of doing so than by courting a strike in such a crisis as the present one.

"THEIR rights of individual conscience will be respected"—thus Secretary Baker, in his memorandum of last Saturday in regard to conscientious objectors. A vital principle is here at stake. Secretary Baker has given a large amount of time to this difficult problem and has settled it aright with humanitarianism, wisdom, and true Americanism. It was unthinkable after the British attitude in this matter of conscientious objection and our own historic record that the United States should take the backward step of degrading objectors or violating their consciences. That would have taken us back to old Salem days and would have been a disavowal of William Penn and all that the historic Pennsylvania Commonwealth stood for, to say nothing of the founding of New England by conscientious religious objectors. Most of these men with whom Secretary Baker is concerned have accepted alternative service in the Medical Corps, ambulance service, etc. The six hundred unyielding objectors are to be segregated and then given furloughs for agricultural service. No better board could have been selected than Mr. Baker has chosen to deal with individual cases and to weed out any impostors. With Major Stoddard, Judge Mack, and Dean Stone on it, there is absolute guarantee of its effectiveness and justice. The very smallness of the number of objectors shows that the country could well afford to be magnanimous as well as true to its own principles of conscientious freedom.

THE acquittal of the murderers of Robert Prager is a disgrace to the State of Illinois and to the whole United States of America as it prosecutes this war. It is not that the State authorities were derelict, or that the prosecuting officer failed to do his duty. The underlying and profoundly disturbing consideration is that an American jury, in possession of the facts of this brutal murder, in effect held that it was no crime to hang a German. According to one account, a member of the jury, after the verdict was announced, waved to the defendants, and shouted, "Well, I guess nobody can say we aren't loyal now; we've done justice of the right sort for Madison County." Can it be possible that there are Americans whose conception of loyalty includes permitting their fellow-citizens to do wanton and unpunished murder upon the subjects of Germany within our gates? Of course, no man in his sober moments harbors such a thought, and yet here is a jury so completely swayed by passion and parochial loyalty as to forget the higher righteousness that is above human enactment. The event is one to make every thoughtful American resolve to stand soberly throughout these critical times in support of reason and fairness.

SIDE by side with the acquittal of the Prager murderers in Sunday's news was the imposition of a ten-year sentence on Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes for criticising some of the motives and aims of our waging war, though she is a supporter of the war and is eager for the defeat of the Central Powers. We fear that incidents such as these work to prevent that very process of national unification which they are intended to promote. Current comment on the Stokes case already indicates this fact. We do not in the least defend the utterances of Mrs. Stokes, which appear to us mistaken and foolish to a degree. But if emotional denouncers of war profiteers are to be jailed for long terms on the basis of particular phrases they may have employed, the enthusiasm of many patriotic radicals for our undertaking is likely to be perceptibly cooled. Excessive penalties for well-meaning if mistaken discussers of war aims and motives are likely to be taken by some of them as evidence that our aims will not bear discussion, and may thus tend to alienate from our national enterprise those socialistically inclined democrats who are disposed at all times to look narrowly at everything done by a "capitalistic" Government.

IF we did not believe that President Wilson was sincere in his repeated declarations of democratic purpose, then we could see an official reason for ruthless repression; but because he is sincere, we believe that honest discussion can only unite the country more solidly behind him. Truth will prevail, even in war time. There must be punishment that will end the activities of those who are actually hindering the progress of our arms, however well-meaning they may be. But there is needed also the sanity that will distinguish between such punishment and the punishment whose chief effect is to create suspicion and disunion. Some of those who are indignant at Mrs. Stokes's punishment are too likely to draw the wrathful inference that her severe sentence is due to the truth of some of her charges, and so slacken their efforts in behalf of our cause. We trust that such will not be the case; but as a practical matter of getting the results we desire, opportunities for such emotional inference should be reduced to a minimum. These are not days to temper justice with mercy, but they are days to administer justice with wisdom.

AMID the distractions of war it is reassuring to note continued progress in carrying out certain great constructive policies inaugurated in the happier days when we had time for such things. President Wilson has just issued a proclamation establishing three new National Forests in the East—the White Mountain, in Maine and New Hampshire; the Shenandoah, in Virginia and West Virginia; and the Natural Bridge, in Virginia. The first will embrace 391,000 acres; the second, 165,000; and the third, 102,000 acres. Ever since the passage, in 1911, of the law authorizing purchases, the Government has been acquiring title to lands about the headwaters of the principal rivers in New England and the Southern Appalachians. The establishment of the White Mountain National Forest, now become a reality, means not only protection to streamflow and the continuous production of timber, but also the permanent preservation near to our greatest centres of population of one of our finest national playgrounds. It will yield returns, not of pleasure alone, but of genuine recreation and inspiration as well. In more than material ways our national forests are being made to contribute to the strength of the people.

NOT all of the world's ingenuity is going into the war. The total eclipse of the sun on June 8, visible as such over a belt about 120 miles wide, extending diagonally across the country from Astoria, Oregon, to Orlando, Florida, is to be recorded in moving pictures, if all goes well. Success

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in the attempt will provide a formidable rival to the war films, which are now at the top of the list in popularity. At all events, the photographs of the phenomenon will be more numerous than ever before, and it is hoped may supply new evidence regarding the corona, the red flames known as "prominences," and the "shadow bands," or peculiar dancing waves of light and shade moving over the landscape just before and after a total eclipse. Then there is the question of the existence of Vulcan, which may or may not be revolving around the sun within the orbit of Mercury. If it is not caught upon the plates carefully prepared for it, skepticism of its actuality will be strengthened. The eclipse will itself be almost eclipsed by the earth-shaking occurrences in France, but as this is the only total eclipse observable in our country during the twelvemonth, it will attract the keen interest of astronomers, both professional and amateur.

THE report of the Rockefeller Foundation just issued serves to remind us again how far our scientific knowledge of the conditions of human welfare runs in advance of the social organization required to make that knowledge effective. As the report points out, "the 'well-being of mankind throughout the world' so obviously depends on the winning of the war by the forces of freedom that the Foundation is devoting by far the largest part of its available resources to the support of war work." But at the same time it is maintaining its public-health work throughout the world, seeking by convincing demonstrations "to show that certain things can be done successfully, and then as soon as may be to turn these over to the community." As an indication of the world-wide scope of this remarkable work, the Foundation is fighting hookworm not only in twelve of our Southern States, but in twenty-five foreign countries, including the West Indies, Central and South America, Africa, the Seychelles Islands, Ceylon, China, Siam, the Straits Settlement, Sumatra, New Guinea, Australia, and the Fiji Islands. It is beginning a campaign against malaria, having reduced doctors' calls for malaria in an Arkansas town, for example, from 600 in October, 1915, to 14 two years later, by simple drainage and oiling of mosquito-breeding swamps. It has laid plans for the actual eradication of yellow fever from the world. Physicians, dispensaries, and now a hospital ship in the Philippines are "demonstrating the fact that for purposes of placating primitive and suspicious peoples medicine has some advantages over machine guns." The Rockefeller Board's work for medical education in China undoubtedly marks the beginning of a new era for that great people. Governments the world over cannot too soon learn the lesson taught by the Foundation as to the profit of social action for the eradication of preventable disease. "Is it too much," asks President Vincent, "to hope that such work as the Foundation is doing in many parts of the world may tend at least to emphasize the common interests of mankind in turning science from the destruction to the healing and the happiness of men?"

COMMENTING on a recent student outbreak in New Haven, the *Yale Alumni Weekly* remarks that while it "was primarily a Sheff freshman eruption, the lengths to which the whole affair finally went rather decidedly showed the loss in campus morale which has been one of the natural results of so many influential upper-class men enlisting in the war." The problem here suggested is by no means confined to Yale, though it is naturally of special importance in an institution where traditional control is as strong as at New Haven. The war has given added seriousness to undergraduate as to all other life. Yet it has in large part taken from the present generation of under-class men the direct influence of those older students to whom they looked with such great respect and from whom they so rapidly took on the special college stamp. A peculiar opportunity and responsibility, accordingly, rest to-day with college faculties. Freed to an unusual degree from hampering student traditions, they have uncommon liberty to remake the life of their institutions according to the needs of to-day rather than the ideas of yesterday. With a solicitous care to preserve all that was good in the old life, they ought therefore to combine an eager readiness to understand this new world that is coming into being, and to help their students play a man's part in it. Unexamined old faiths are scarcely less inadequate to their tasks than are untested new enthusiasms.

ONE radical and important change that the war has brought almost automatically in the colleges is the putting of athletics on a "pure amateur" basis. One of the standing reproaches of American academic life, in the past, disgraceful alike to the alumni who created the condition and to the faculties who tolerated it, has been the professionalism of college sports, with their enormous financial organization, their specialization of picked athletes in the sport business, their paid professional coaches, and their general debauchery of undergraduate work. While college teachers commonly enough recognized the vices of the system, those who directed our higher institutions, with the rarest exceptions, lacked the courage to extirpate the evil thing root and branch; for they feared the effect on attendance, prestige, alumni support, what not. Now comes the war and for the time being wipes the slate clean, and wonder of wonders, it is discovered, as the *Yale Alumni Weekly* recently pointed out, that the teams "play better games, enjoy playing better, and give more enjoyment to their college rooters when they do it on their own legs, than their predecessors generally did in the professionally coached days." If American college faculties ever again allow intercollegiate sport to degenerate to the low level it occupied before the war, they will deserve, and will probably receive, the profound contempt of thoughtful observers of our academic life.

THE goose that laid the golden egg has been drafted into service from a small town in western Illinois that at one time boasted the second largest number of Belgians in the country. A Belgian farmer donated a goose to the Red Cross, which put it up at auction. The buyer put it up again, and the process continued until the sale amounted to something more than $100, when the bird was borne off in triumph to the adjoining village. There it produced $800 in the same manner, and then flew to the next town, where it brought in $2,300. After a profitable visit to the county seat, it was returned to the community of origin, where it was sold and resold for $1,450 more. At latest reports the buyer had not killed this highly valuable fowl, and he is doubtless saving it with the idea that the moulting season may be over by the time the next Red Cross drive begins. If only there were other Belgian farmers to donate a whole flock of such geese to the Red Cross, that organization might dispense with all other methods of raising money.

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The Grave German Advance

THE gravity of the German advance has been proved, if proof were necessary beyond the official bulletins, by the haste with which press attempts to minimize the speed of the advance and the success of the enemy disappeared after the first three days. Until Wednesday there were still the same familiar bulletins of the first two German drives—that the advance was already weakening, that the reserves were near at hand, that Foch was quite content, and that the retreat was a deliberate assumption of the Fabian policy. From the headlines of some New York and Washington newspapers it would have been easy to suppose that it was all merely some trifling outpost attack. It goes without saying that such treatment renders no service to the country or to the Allied cause. It is easy to understand the wish to gloss over bad news, but the truth must be told if the country is to do its full share, and it has certainly earned the truth by what it has accomplished to this date.

The truth is that neither the drive on Amiens nor that in Flanders has surpassed in seriousness this one to the Marne. The surprise was just as great as on the 21st of March, and the new tactics of the Germans of attacking with but slight artillery warning again met with complete success. How to explain the failure of the Allied air forces, which have been boasting of their superiority to the Germans, to give warning of the massing of men in front of the Chemin des Dames is beyond our powers; it is a fact, however, that officers who have been serving at Pershing's headquarters have been saying for some time past that the value of aeroplanes for scouting purposes is much exaggerated because of the efficiency on both sides of anti-aeroplane guns. There seem to be indications that the Germans have greatly improved their striking power by the use of a large machine gun, apparently something like the larger Browning gun now in process of manufacture for our army. Several correspondents have touched upon the way these machine guns were carried along by the front lines, and it is said that there was one gun to every yard. Whether this is a new departure or not, the fact is that the extraordinary efficiency of the German army again made itself felt, and that the rush to the Marne went through with surprising speed. Enormous captures of men and supplies, cannon, and booty of all kinds rewarded the enemy.

To account exactly for all this we must doubtless wait for some weeks or months. Is it possible that the menace from Ypres to Amiens was so great that Foch did not dare to leave any reserves elsewhere on the line? He must have known that the Germans might strike to the south—what the Germans have done was merely what is called in football a "wing shift"—and it is noteworthy that some of the divisions were the same as those used in the first drive, reconstituted, refreshed, and reorganized for this attack. The gravity of letting troops like these German veterans get the habit of victory is as obvious as the unfortunate psychology of a third Allied retreat under fire. So far the morale of the Allied troops seems to have held up well; there are as yet no such reports as came from General Gough's army on March 21 and 22, but the pounding the French have received in this drive must make every one heartsick who stops to consider their heroism and the frightful sacrifices they have had to make. Certainly no one could have believed before this that any nation could take such punishment and hold its head so high.

Alarming as it is to have the Germans again on the Marne and to see them steadily winning back the land they released after Joffre's great achievement in 1914, there is at this writing every hope that the drive has about worn itself out. The last two days have shown no substantial gains for the enemy; the Allied reserves are coming up; counter-attacks in force have begun. Moreover, thus far it has always proved impossible to keep up such a drive, whether British, French, or German, for more than a couple of weeks; thereafter the men are exhausted, the captured terrain cannot be quickly enough organized, the heavy cannon fail to come up, and the enormously difficult problems of supplying ammunition and food become temporarily insoluble.

When, however, all is said and done, the ugly fact remains that the Germans completely broke through and restored the "war of movement," that it is the third time that they have done this trick within three months, and that this time we hear little or nothing of the enormous losses supposed to have been inflicted on the oncoming hosts as in the earlier attacks. The psychological effect upon the German and French people cannot be overestimated; this success will enable the German militarists to quiet their disaffected multitudes at home who are suffering so keenly from lack of adequate food. In France the thought that the German lines are in much the same place as in 1914 cannot but have a tremendously depressing effect. It is the time for American sympathy, comfort, and aid to flow out to that stricken country as never before.

Keeping Out German Newspapers

WITH the exception of a few scientific journals, no German magazines or newspapers are now allowed to enter the United States. They have not been allowed to enter for nearly or quite two years. No American newspaper is permitted to receive its German or Austrian exchanges, no individual can obtain a copy either at a newsstall or by subscription. Libraries find their sets of German "continuations" broken and are unable to learn when, or whether, the breaks will be repaired. The reason is that the British Government, through whose hands nearly all mail between Europe and America has passed since the outbreak of war, will not allow German papers to come to this country, except such as are destined for the Government at Washington. Leading English newspapers still get their German exchanges, and are free to use them, as they use other material or sources of information, subject only to the general restrictions of the censorship, applicable to news of every sort; but American newspapers enjoy no such privilege.

What, then, is the origin of the articles or extracts, purporting to be translated from German newspapers or periodicals, which appear from day to day in the American press? The sources are mainly three. One is the English newspapers, copies of which come regularly to this country, and from which significant items are also cabled or written by American correspondents in London. Another is the cable messages or letters of correspondents in neutral countries in Europe, all of whom have access to German papers. Practically all cable or mail communica-

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tion between the United States and European neutrals, however, passes through England and is censored there. Both of these sources, accordingly, are ultimately English. The German news which comes to the United States through England is, in the last analysis, only the news which the English censor chooses to send. Now and then, of course, there is a "leak," and a German publication finds its way into this country through some obscure or subterranean channel, but the volume of such irregular transmission is too small and irregular to affect materially the general situation.

The other source of German news is Washington. The Government receives the leading German newspapers and magazines, and the departments and bureaus have such access to them as they desire. The Department of Labor, for example, prints selections from them, or articles based upon the data which they contain, in its monthly *Bulletin*. The reading of the German press, and the translation of such items as it is deemed wise that the American public should see, is one of the functions of Mr. Creel's Committee on Public Information.

We have no disposition to insist that every American citizen who wishes to do so should be allowed, in time of war, to subscribe to a German newspaper and receive it regularly by mail or through an American agency. Such trading with the enemy, small as may be the money consideration involved, is doubtless properly to be prohibited. Nor do we wish to magnify the value of the German press, or the number of persons in this country who would read a German newspaper if they had the chance. The newspaper standards of Germany are no higher than are those of England, France, or the United States; in some respects they are lower. We cannot question the accuracy of the translations and summaries of German newspaper articles which emanate from the Committee on Public Information, or appear in the columns of the London *Times* or *Morning Post*, or are cabled from Amsterdam or Copenhagen; for the simple reason that, so long as the originals remain inaccessible, there is no possible way of telling whether translation or adaptation is good or bad.

The fundamental objection to the whole policy of excluding German publications is that it strikes another blow at the intellectual foundations of democracy. If the American people are to think sanely and act wisely in the complicated and novel situations created by the war, they must be informed; and if they are to be informed, they must have access to the sources of information. One such source is the German press. What it pleases Mr. Creel's staff or the British censor to hand out to the American public is, presumptively, not the whole story. Those who have the business in hand are hostile, sometimes bitterly hostile, to Germany and all her works; they could not hold their places if they were not. But, for that very reason, they are in no position to exercise impartiality, or to present, so far as the contents of German papers enable them to present it, that all-round view of actual conditions within the German Empire which this country has needed from the beginning of the war. There have been many complaints that Germany mangles and distorts, when it does not suppress altogether, the American news which it allows to appear in its newspapers. Have we any sufficient assurance that, between London at one end and Washington at the other, the reports of what is going on in Germany, as finally tagged and expurgated for American readers, are reliable or complete? Is there some convincing reason why English editors should be trusted while American editors should not?

We are loath to believe that President Wilson, once the situation were fully uncovered to him, would sanction the policy of handing down assertions and opinions by authority. The democracy which he champions does not make progress in such fashion. There has been a good deal of talk, and to some purpose, about the things we are fighting for. It is equally important to know what we are fighting against. The German press, like the press of any other great nation, is an important index of public opinion, and to it every American newspaper should have unrestricted access. It is one of the means by which America can keep track of its progress in the war, while heartening itself for tasks and difficulties still to come.

Experiments in Public Control

THE consolidation of the four great express companies into a single organization to work practically as a branch of the Federal Railway Administration, and the requirement of full publicity for wholesale profits and prices in the packing industry, are two further important steps in the process of bringing industry, for the period of the war, under such unified control as may be considered necessary for carrying the struggle to a successful conclusion. They are distinctly war measures; yet it would be worse than idle to blink the fact that the steps now taken are not going simply to be retraced when the war is over. We shall never again stand just where we did a year ago. When the railroads were taken over by the Government, a clause was inserted in the measure providing for their return to the stockholders twenty-one months after the end of the war; but he would be a simple man indeed who should suppose that any such provision will automatically hand them back to their old owners, and yet a simpler one who should imagine that even their return would reëstablish the status that prevailed previous to the assumption of Government control. We are in for a period of experiment with new ways of doing certain necessary things. The ultimate test of the new methods will be in their results, and the question whether we shall continue to use them after the necessity for them has passed depends essentially on how we like those results.

The consolidation of the express companies brings to an end an arrangement peculiar to our own country, so far as we are aware. The express service is in essence high-grade freight business. In other countries it has been performed by the railroads, or by the post office working in connection with them. As the result of an historical accident, however, the express business here was developed by independent corporations, whose service and rates, it must be confessed, left much to be desired. The express companies for a generation fought off the parcels post, while they themselves charged "what the traffic would bear." The competition of the parcels post, once it was established, and the bringing of the express companies under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, improved the situation somewhat; but the unification of the companies in connection with the Railway Administration offers possibilities of marked improvement of the service, as President Taylor's statement points out.

The combination ought to result in better utilization of

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existing plants, which apparently was one of the motives that weighed with the Government in bringing about the merger. We ought, then, to get a marked increase in the efficiency and convenience of combined express and freight service and a decrease in the cost of carrying it on. Whether this will be the actual result remains to be seen. And whether a 25 per cent. jump in express rates will be made to correspond with the Government achievement in the field of freight rates is another interesting question, in view of the Government partnership in profits. While the assets of the companies amount to no less than $117,000,000, the new consolidated company will be capitalized for only $30,000,000, and will pay dividends on that amount only, which covers the entire value of the physical properties of the constituent concerns.

The requirement of publicity in the packing industry calls renewed attention to an interesting parallelism between the public relations of railroads and of large-scale manufacturing industries. Broadly speaking, manufactures have followed railroads at a distance of about fifteen to twenty-five years. The Granger attack on the railroads in the seventies was followed by the first onslaught on the early "Trusts" in the eighties and nineties. The era of railroad combination during the eighth decade was matched by the mad scramble for Trust-making after 1898. The Interstate Commerce Commission, established in 1887, finds its parallel in the Bureau of Corporations of 1903 and its successor, the Federal Trade Commission. It was twenty years before the railroad body succeeded in getting really effective powers; the actual publicity of railroad rates and profits was not finally assured until the present century; it now seems likely to be secured in some measure for manufactures by means of corporation and excess-profits tax returns and measures such as those just taken in the packing industry. War needs are at present telescoping the ordinary processes of economic growth, but it is by no means necessarily true that manufactures will follow exactly the path of the railroads.

The fact seems to be that whenever an industry becomes sufficiently large and concentrated, we begin to lose confidence in the adequacy of competition to insure satisfactory charges and service, and seek to impose some form of public control. Such control increases in rigidity as experience discloses the real or supposed need. Witness the history of the Interstate Commerce Commission and our various Public Service Commissions. Transportation is perhaps the most dramatically important of all industries, and the most amenable to monopoly control; hence public action has regularly come earliest here. But food and fuel and materials are no less essential than transportation, and wherever their production becomes centralized, there we find public regulation making headway, particularly under stress of public need. The Socialist sees in all this only an inevitable movement towards the coöperative commonwealth. We cannot see in it anything of the sort; but it is clear that America, like every other country, is going to come out of the war with vastly more social control of industry than she had at her entry. How much of it will it be desirable to maintain, and how can it be made most effective in providing for the whole community the conditions of good living, at the same time ministering to the highest development of the individual life? What we accept under stress of war we may reject under peace conditions. The politics of the future will be a matter, not of the body alone, but of the spirit.

A British Look Ahead

THE preliminary consideration of questions of reconstruction continues to make progress in England, and in characteristically British fashion. Instead of attempting to cover exhaustively the whole subject, after the manner of a Royal Commission report, the Ministry of Reconstruction is making public, from time to time, reports from one or another of the numerous committees among which the work of the Ministry has been distributed. We now have a summary of the findings and recommendations of the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy after the War.

Defence, exclusion, and coöperation are the keynotes of the Committee's report. Apparently, the Committee has not been convinced by the widespread criticism of the resolutions of the Paris Conference, or by President Wilson's declared opposition to hostile tariffs and recriminating trade policies and agreements after the war; for it now recommends that the prohibition upon the importation of goods of enemy origin be continued for at least twelve months after peace, and for such longer period as may be deemed expedient. In addition, Great Britain and the Allies are urged to establish a joint control of the export of important materials necessary to the restoration of their own impaired industries. The Committee goes further, and recommends that, by agreement with her allies, Great Britain should refuse, for a time at least, to extend trade privileges to present enemy countries on the same terms as before the war.

So far as the report goes, it undoubtedly represents a clear growth of sentiment in England in favor of substantial discrimination against German industry and trade after the war. The Committee is for "war after the war." It does not favor, however, a comprehensive tariff scheme. "A claim for protection cannot be regarded as valid," the report declares, "unless the industry which makes it can show that, in spite of the adoption of the most efficient technical methods and business organization, it cannot maintain itself against foreign competition; and that by such competition it is hindered from adopting these methods." In addition, the report points out that the indiscriminate maintenance, through tariff help, of industries which do not "contribute appreciably" to the wealth of the nation, is "economically unsound"; that even a temporary raising of prices for articles of national importance should be restrained "to the closest possible limits"; and that British export trade ought not to be hampered by a policy which might unduly increase the cost of production at home. On the other hand, the Committee is agreed that English producers should be protected against "dumping," and that "key" industries should be maintained "at all hazards and at any expense," but every claimant for protection must prove its case on the ground of its indispensable contribution to the national welfare.

Two other important matters are dealt with in the report. One is imperial preference, and, in general, imperial relations. Instead of an Imperial Development Board, proposed by the Dominions Royal Commission in its report in 1917, under which a systematic development of all important imperial resources, with possible imperial self-support as an aim, should be undertaken, the Committee recommends a "selective policy," which shall deal with industries or commodities from the point of view of their special economic or military importance. The declared wishes of India, and

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of the Dominions and Colonies, for improved trade relations with the United Kingdom should be met, and preferential tariff treatment accorded to all the parts of the Empire. The other matter has to do with the policy of governmental control of industry after the war. While the need of assuring an adequate supply of foodstuffs and raw materials will make it necessary to continue for some time the control of trade and industry imposed during the war, such control, in the view of the Committee, "should be kept within the narrowest possible limits," and entrusted, to the fullest extent possible, to the trades or industries themselves. But all state restriction upon industry should end as soon as possible after the peace.

Even a brief summary of the report is sufficient to indicate certain lines along which opinion among English business men is dividing, as well as some of the points at which it is in accord. There is practical agreement, as indeed there has long been, that the commercial and producing interests of the Empire must henceforth be more closely knit, that its economic resources ought to be more intelligently developed, and that the wishes of the overseas dominions will have to be consulted. The question of protection is still open; and the knowledge of the condition in which England's "key" industries found themselves at the beginning of the war has supplied protectionists with an argument which they will hardly fail to use. Neither in this country nor in England are we likely to go back to a régime under which a host of economic matters, increasingly well dealt with by Government boards, will be relegated again to private hands. The practical gains of the new order are too many to make likely a hasty return to the old.

Houses for War Workers

ONE of the brighter sides of a dark picture is the enlightened view being taken of one of the hugest of the tasks suddenly thrown upon the nations by the war—the task of housing the masses of munitions and other war-workers. In such an emergency, with no precedents to follow or avoid, short-sighted counsels might have prevailed. The necessity for haste might have suggested the sacrifice of everything else to immediacy. What matter how poor the construction, how temporary the building, if only it was got up at record-breaking speed? But in England, where the problem has been most pressing, this course has not been pursued. One exactly opposite has been followed, so that the editor of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* is able to make the cheering statement: "War has raised the standard of the house in England for all time." And he epitomizes what has occurred there in these words:

> With sound economic foresight, England determined to build permanent houses, except in cases where the emergency was so dire as to compel temporary expedients. She found that, taking into account the expense of applying the utilities (streets, water, gas, sewage), the difference in cost between temporary and permanent houses was so little as to be negligible in her calculations. Rather than accept a questionable post-war salvage from temporary structures, with the inevitable temptation to continue their use as slums, she resolved to create a permanent national asset. Thus there have grown up in an incredibly short time whole new towns and villages which will not only remain after the war, but which will compel a generally higher standard for workmen's homes—for permanency is only a part of the miracle.

The war did not find England entirely unprepared in this field. Her garden cities were among the first steps anywhere towards better living conditions, and all her communities have large legal powers in dealing with such matters. But the war thrust the question into the foreground of the national attention. How frankly the nation faced it is indicated by the fact that London "has demolished acres of slums and erected model tenements thereon." Moreover, "in order to bring the rentals of these within reach of workmen, she has charged off the entire cost of the land against her more prosperous areas!" These houses, it is true, would not do for us. They are built after the English fashion and not after ours. They have no central heating arrangements, fireplaces being generally relied upon, and their interior plan is different from ours. But, ranging in size from two to five rooms, with bath, and renting at from $1.80 to $3.60 a week, they are probably unmatched in relation of rental to accommodations. This result is made possible, of course, only because of the willingness of the Government to accept a return upon the money invested that would not satisfy private capital. It is even hinted that England may have to write off as a war expense the difference in cost of these houses between war-time and normal prices.

In France the problem has been much simpler. The loss of the iron and coal areas threw the burden of producing war material upon England until there could be restoration and expansion of such industries. This was a gradual development, and permitted gradual adjustment of housing conditions. The demands of the future are France's problem. In this connection we may quote one bit of advice:

> To the excited few in the United States who have so mistakenly assumed that the problem of reconstructing France was one that should be left to its lovers in this country, there may eventually come a perception of the fact that France, architecturally, is able to care for her own interests.

For unhappy Belgium, nothing but plans are possible just now. Her kindly conquerors have made studies for her rehabilitation, and the preliminary proposals, at least in part, have been issued in printed form. "But," in the words of the compilation from which we are quoting, "the world will still have something to say about this!"

What of our own problem? The answer is not what we should like. Our expansion in war industries is impeded by lack of houses for workers, and "it is further restricted by congestion in the hideous structures which pass under that name. . . . Many factories making war necessaries are not running full because they cannot house the workers," yet "wherever men and women are working in these centres, their vitality frequently is impaired by the conditions under which they live." It should be said that there have been revolutionary changes for the better in some of our war-industry communities, but the writers of "The Housing Problem" call for a fundamental alteration of policy regarding the subject. "The Government should organize a separate department or a non-profit Government corporation for providing the communities adjacent to munition plants wherever it develops that additional accommodations are required. . . . This organization should acquire land . . . plan new villages, install roads . . . The entire property, land and buildings, should be retained and operated by the Government during the war and for a certain period thereafter." Such a policy would indeed mean a striking change from our traditional practice.

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Henry Adams, Historian

By WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

IN 1879 were published three volumes of the "Writings" of Albert Gallatin, edited by Henry Adams. They were accompanied by a fourth volume, a life of Albert Gallatin written by Mr. Adams. At the time these volumes were quietly received and aroused no great attention even among the then small number of workers in American history. Little could have been told of the writer and editor, though he could have been remembered as recently the editor of the *North American Review*, to which he had contributed a few articles. A small circle of students might recall a volume issued in 1871 entitled "Chapters of Erie, and Other Essays," in which four essays on history and finance by Henry Adams formed the "other Essays." Very few, indeed, would have known that Henry Adams had been private or confidential secretary to his father in Washington just before the war, and in London from 1861 to 1868, a position which could give the son little reputation but abundant opportunity for development. Returning from London at the age of thirty, he had done some newspaper work and had been assistant professor of history in Harvard University from 1870 to 1877. A volume on "New England Federalism," which he "edited" in 1877, contained merely the defence written by John Quincy Adams in 1829 and never published until the grandson gave it to the world. It was a volume which appealed to a small number of readers only. These few items give a point of departure. Mr. Adams was a graduate of Harvard, had had experience in public life quite out of the ordinary, had taught history for seven years, and had edited, written, and published historical material.

Teaching history in the seventies was something other than what it is in 1918. When Mr. Adams accepted his assistant professorship in the University, Hedge was professor of ecclesiastical history and Torrey professor of ancient and modern history. The new appointment was intended to make good what Torrey lacked—mediæval history—and Mr. Adams at once put his classes on Hallam's "Middle Ages" and Duruy's "Histoire du Moyen Age," having first disclaimed to President Eliot any knowledge of the subject. He and Torrey constituted the entire department of history, for Hedge easily slipped into the German department. Seven years later three instructors had been added—Young, Emerton, and Lodge—and Mr. Adams gave courses on mediæval institutions and constitutional and legal history of England to the seventeenth century. Whatever interest he had shown in history when a student in college had come from association with his father, for whom he read "copy" of the "Works of John Adams." A short stay in Germany for the study of the "civil law" could hardly have strengthened this leaning. This was the background of the Gallatin, which represented an achievement and advance upon the easy-going editorial methods then prevailing. The most recent contribution to history had been the "Memoirs of John Quincy Adams," the last volume appearing in 1877. There was little reticence and much courage shown in issuing the twelve volumes. Gallatin's letters were different in substance, but would easily lend themselves to copious annotation. The remarkable feature of the publication was that there was no annotation, an example worthy to be studied, for such restraint on the part of the editor is rare but entirely proper. Let the writer speak for himself; a biographer can "annotate" to his heart's desire. The volume of biography was as restrained as were those of the Writings. The absence of laudation either of person or of system, of Gallatin, of democracy, or of country, was refreshing after Bancroft or even Motley; and while the work is far from colorless, its even balanced tone gave it authority.

Four years later, in 1883, appeared in the American Statesmen Series Adams's "John Randolph," a volume which piqued curiosity and aroused controversy. It was something of a stretch to regard Randolph as a statesman, but that was a matter of secondary importance. The high quality of the writing, the interpretative spirit pervading it, could not be denied, and the wit and lightness of touch suited the subject. As biography it was more readable than the Gallatin, for Randolph supplied material of a picturesque and self-illuminating nature; but neither the Gallatin nor the Randolph volume could give much light on the methods of the writer. A clear, engaging style and a perfect grasp of subject and material—these are rather the mechanics of historical writing. As the writer lived in Washington, where little history is written, it was only reasonable to speculate upon the prospects of further biography or silence.

It was to be neither silence nor biography, for, after six years waiting, the "History of the United States of America during the First Administration of Thomas Jefferson" appeared in two volumes in 1889, and seven more followed in rapid succession, the last published in 1891, carrying the story to the end of Madison's second term, 1817. For some years a portion of the work had been in type, but in another form, in an edition of five copies, "printed as proof," and shown to a favored few—a luxurious method of authorship. The publication came as a surprise, yet had not the "New England Federalism," the Gallatin, and the Randolph been in fact special studies for this history? The connection was at once recognized and proved the thorough methods of investigation. The high praise given to the history at the time, placing it at the head of historical writing in the United States, has since suffered no abatement. For the period covered, it has said the last word. Details may be modified and some errors corrected by new material; but for a picture of the social conditions of that time, of the political and administrative history for eight years, it has stood every test and remains an example of the best that can be done in the writing of American history.

The "History" has been described as a political pamphlet—a defence of John Adams even against the Federalists. The suggestion cannot be supported. As in the Randolph, the leading characters are permitted to tell their own story, and the connecting narrative is only the medium for conveying this story to the reader—but it is a medium clear as crystal. In Mr. Adams the desire to be impartial was strong; it had been drilled into him by his experience abroad and at home. As newspaper writer and as private

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secretary the power of observation had been developed, and from his father he derived a balanced judgment which never rushed to extremes either of act or of speech. In the "History" the course of events, as related, is supported by line and verse. If Jefferson entered office a political reformer, opposed to all the ways of Federalism, and lived to greet Madison in 1817 on retiring from the Presidency, with the Government upon a Federalist basis, that was inevitable, an inexorable progress. Adams was not responsible for this issue. He did not write as an Adams, but as an historian. He told a perfectly direct story, where any attempt to alter or to give a twist of interpretation would have discredited the historian. In this he showed the highest historical training as well as wisdom. He was merely the agent for arranging the facts and selecting those essential to truth. Whether in describing events at home or in unravelling the cross-purposes in foreign relations he never went beyond the records. His style had become that of a master.

A comparison of periods in history raises questions, and the study of mediæval and American history was rich in suggestion to Mr. Adams. As president of the American Historical Association in 1894, he first outlined the principal problem. History should be a science, for "science itself would admit its own failure if it admitted that man, the most important of all its subjects, could not be brought within its range." Yet if an historian should find a great generalization that would reduce all history under a law as clear as the laws which govern the material world, should successfully apply Darwin's methods to the facts of human history, what would be the consequence? Would it not shake to its foundation some prodigious interest—the church, state, labor, or property? Had such a science come in with Darwin, "it would perhaps have taken the form of cheerful optimism which gave to Darwin's conclusions the charm of a possible human perfectibility." In 1894 it would more likely be pessimistic, "unless it brought into sight some new and hitherto unsuspected path for civilization to pursue." One must preach despair, or repudiate science, or come into hostility towards one or more of the most powerful organizations of the era. He did not express any opinion of his own, but merely stated the question.

The problem occupied his thoughts for some years before he once more gave its outlines. Turning again to mediæval history, he wrote his "Mont St. Michel and Chartres"—a study of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries in France. In this search he found scope for æsthetic expression—architecture, art, worship, and belief—a series of pictures tinged with feeling and glowing with enthusiasm. If the reader finds difficulty in following him in all his conclusions, he must admit having been deeply interested by an unusual presentation and interpretation of objects and influences. The economy of cathedral building in that period supplied him with the keynote, but he builds round this central point a structure of comment on statues, windows, glass, decoration by color or light, romance and fable, social relations and religious ideals. He sought "what those centuries had to say, and a sympathy with their ways of saying it," but dealt with the deeper problems of man's existence and freedom of will. If the builders of Chartres reached unity in their material structure, Thomas of Aquinas, by methods like those of modern science, attained the same unity in church doctrine. To him God was the first Cause and man, determined but not determining, the passive instrument of His power or energy. Science starting from multiplicity seeks by the law of energy to reach ultimate unity.

The nineteenth century called for examination on the same lines as he had given to the middle age, and he rested it upon a method singularly bold and involving dangers. He took his own life as a framework, and, elaborating his theory of man in the universe, once more offered the problem with his suggestion of a choice of solutions. The "Education of Henry Adams" has circulated "as manuscript" among his friends for ten years, and is about to be published for the general reading public. It is an autobiography of the first quality, rich in the experiences related, frank in its judgments on himself and his contemporaries, an historical exposition of the period, full of wit and insight, power of expression, and philosophic reflection. In it he has become an instrument of observation and interpretation trained to the highest degree. The charm and interest of the book cannot be suggested by quotation. Assuming that he was born with all the habits of thought of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he asks how could he meet the conditions of the twentieth century? It is a study of social forces, but it is also an absorbingly interesting presentation of New England inheritance, of Washington before and after the war, of American diplomacy in the War of Secession, and of the educative influences of to-day. The book is unique.

He carried his theory of man's relations to the universe a stage further, but in a book printed only for private circulation he could not hope to reach those he most desired to influence. Rewriting this scientific portion, he gave out his "Letter to American Teachers of History." The laws of thermo-dynamics gave the text. The Darwinian method has stood the test of time, but the position taken by physicists on the origin, persistence, transformation, and dissipation of energy antagonized the results. If energy by use is dissipated, was it possible to raise a force to a higher grade without an undue waste of energy? Unless the supernatural be accepted, all in the world tends to fall under the laws of physics, and social forces—man himself—must be under the same limitations. If thought is energy, as both physicists and philosophers admit, is it subject to the same law as other forms of energy, that of degenerating by use, or can it claim exemption from that law? The discussion of such questions evidently extends far beyond the scope of ordinary historical writing.

It would be absurd to measure such a writer by ordinary standards, and in seeking to place him as an historian explain in what he differed from others. His merit lies in possessing precisely the qualities that a true historian should possess, developed consistently by hard labor and experience. As a boy he was questioning and observant—probably somewhat critical of his elders. As a youth he continued to observe, to absorb, and to weigh critically. Throughout his life he labored severely and with open mind to advance and apply his methods. For more than a quarter of a century he has been occupied in an attempt to solve the law of human progress, to bring God and man, man and nature, under the same generalization. If he has left the problem still unsolved, he has exposed his study of it in a series of volumes of quite unique power and interest, and has so firmly established his position as an historian that neither at home nor abroad is it questioned.

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The Bridgehead of Asia Minor

By JAMES HENRY BREASTED

AS long as the leading naval Power of modern times has its home in the Atlantic, with great responsibilities in the Pacific, Asia Minor, overlooking as it does the line of communication between those two oceans, must inevitably remain a position of commanding and decisive importance. A hostile Power in Asia Minor always threatens Suez; without Suez England cannot command the Pacific, and without English supremacy in the Pacific our own standing there is at once jeopardized. The sinister actions of a German admiral in Manila Bay could be sternly and decisively met by Admiral Dewey, because the Suez Canal was open to the English fleet, and the Suez Canal will always be vulnerable as long as there is an efficient and aggressive modern Power intrenched in Asia Minor. The Bagdad railway is but one form of the Asia Minor problem, and to any one familiar with the history of the Near East it is simply a catchword which suggests all the fundamental problems of the world war; for in one connection or another it involves them all. To discuss the Bagdad railway, therefore, is to penetrate at once into the fundamental questions of the inter-oceanic, inter-continental strategic of this world struggle—a strategic demanding an outlook so spacious that it is bounded only by the planet itself.

The vastness of this outlook, suggested in the above paragraph, is completely veiled from the war spectator who gathers his impressions from brief dispatches recording slight advances of the British in Palestine or Mesopotamia —operations which seem to be so strictly local in their significance. A brief examination of the strategic geography of the Near East, however, quickly reveals the far-reaching importance of these operations. Suez, so vital to the power of our great ally in the Pacific, is never safe for a moment if guarded by Egypt alone. The isthmus must be protected on the Asiatic side also, by a buffer of friendly or vassal states, precisely as we have protected the Panama Canal by a neutral zone on both sides. It must always be said to the honor of English statesmen that they did not take advantage of Turkey's embarrassment in her recent disastrous wars to encroach seriously on the Asiatic side of Suez, as they might easily have done. Would that they had observed the same high-minded policy in Persia!

The strategic significance of the Near East (or of the Ottoman Empire), then, lies in the fact that the shortest route, the main highway between the Atlantic and the Pacific, lies across it, and that such a highway is very vulnerable and must be broad enough to be strategically defensible. By the very existence of her empire, Great Britain is inevitably forced to hold more than the mere Isthmus of Suez; and Egypt is not enough. Egypt is and always has been protected from any invasion from the African side because her rear is flanked in all directions by the Sahara, and any intruders endeavoring to enter by descending the river are stopped by the cataracts of the Nile. Only once in her history has Egypt suffered a serious invasion from her rear in Africa. The same desert which protects Egypt in Africa sweeps far over into Asia, enfolds Egypt also on the Asiatic side, including the Isthmus of Suez, and throws a hundred miles or more of desert between the Nile delta and southern Palestine. This hundred miles of desert has always contributed essentially to the protection of Egypt on the Asiatic side, and it prevented the tatterdemalion Turkish expedition from making an effective attack on the canal. It was in this region that the army of Sennacherib suffered destruction. The British have now overcome this desert stretch by building a railway across it, connecting the Nile delta with southern Palestine, linking together Asia and Africa by modern transportation.

It is furthermore of fundamental importance to observe that this African-Arabian desert is then flung out eastward and northward like a far-reaching bulwark almost entirely across western Asia neighboring on Africa, leaving only a narrow strip of cultivable area along the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Suez is therefore safe from attack from any quarter whatsoever except one, and that is the north, along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. The Arabian-Syrian desert absolutely shuts off all approach to Suez from any other direction. An army advancing upon Suez from Asia inevitably comes from the north, and having the desert on the one hand and the eastern shores of the Mediterranean on the other, it marches southward for over four hundred miles down a relatively narrow cultivable fringe between the desert and the sea. This contracted avenue between sea and desert is strategically like a four-hundred-mile prolongation of the Isthmus of Suez northward. Together with the isthmus it forms a long link like the handle of a dumb-bell between Asia and Africa—a link nearly five hundred miles long. On this long bridge Palestine is in the south, while Syria occupies the northern portion. Every army moving against Suez must traverse almost the entire length of this narrow five-hundred-mile corridor, and access to it can be gained only in the region bordering on the southeast corner of Asia Minor. Without passing the southeastern corner of Asia Minor, it is impossible to attack Suez, and it is this fact which so enormously increases the strategic importance of Asia Minor.

Where, then, is the bridgehead in Asia giving access to Africa and Egypt? It is decidedly not at the Asiatic end of the Isthmus of Suez. It is four hundred miles further north, at the north end of the dumb-bell handle—that is, at Alexandretta, the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean. This shift of the bridgehead so far north throws it directly under the gates of the westernmost bastion of Asia. While Suez is thus linked up with Asia Minor, it remains separated from Babylonia and Assyria by six or seven hundred miles of desert. It was for this reason that neither Babylonia nor Assyria ever succeeded in completely subduing or permanently holding Egypt. On the other hand, the peoples who have lived in Asia Minor, or have rested upon it as a military base, have subdued Egypt, and thus held Suez repeatedly.

The great bastion of Asia Minor is thrown forward on the north side of the Mediterranean, like a vast fortress salient, frowning down upon Europe and commanding Constantinople and the adjacent shores of Greece and the Balkans. In spite of some arid districts in the interior, this spacious tableland peninsula, with a width of three to four hundred miles, a length of six hundred and fifty to seven hundred miles, and an area about equal to that of

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the State of Texas, and almost as large as Germany, is capable of supporting a large and prosperous population.

Now this great fortress bastion of western Asia commands both the hinterland of Mesopotamia and Babylonia and the bridgehead leading to Suez and Africa; for the bridgehead, we repeat, is right under the southeastern mountain gates of Asia Minor. No aggressive military power has ever held this great western bastion of Asia without pouring southward through the bridge and thus sweeping around the eastern end of the Mediterranean through Suez and into Egypt. It was the possession of this western bastion which enabled the Persians not only to command the Greek world in neighboring Europe, but also to capture the bridgehead and advance into Egypt. The Persian Cyrus saw very clearly that he must possess Asia Minor first before he could advance with safety upon either Babylon or Egypt; and possessing Asia Minor, he was willing to leave the inevitable conquest of Egypt to his successors. In the same way Alexander the Great first deprived the Persians of their western salient by fighting his crucial battle at the bridgehead itself, on the shores of the Gulf of Alexandretta (Issus). Had our powerful maritime allies adopted the same policy, it can hardly be doubted that their success would have been equally decisive. The Romans likewise after gaining Asia Minor easily absorbed Egypt; and the Turks came in the same way.

Thus the great bastion of western Asia has served as a stronghold dominating the eastern Mediterranean and furnishing the base which has supported Persian, Macedonian, Roman, and Turk in the conquest of Suez and Egypt. The strategic significance of Asia Minor, demonstrated by the part it has played in history, and obvious to any military student of the region even if he lacked all knowledge of its history, has been discerned from the beginning by the military masters of Germany. Had they been effectively blocked in this region, the European war would have ended before the overthrow of the Russian Czar. If they are not blocked there in the present conflict, we of the United States shall inevitably be involved in another war to drive them out of it. If for no other and higher motives than to safeguard our own place in the Pacific, the German menace in Asia Minor should be crushed. For, as long as it threatens Suez and British supremacy in the Pacific, it threatens us likewise. The most decisive and most disconcerting blow that we could deliver in this war would be to throw an army of at least two hundred and fifty thousand men, and more if necessary, into the struggle against the Turks at the east end of the Mediterranean.

To-day the Turks, that is, to all practical intents and purposes, the Germans, hold the entire northern two-thirds of the Syria-Palestine bridge connecting Asia Minor and Africa; they occupy not only the bridgehead, but also over half of the bridge itself, besides Asia Minor behind it. In a similar situation the greatest of the Egyptian commanders, Thutmose III, quickly discerned the fact that while the desert completely protected the bridge from all attack on its east side, the sea gave access to it for a large part of its length on its west side. Having failed to gain the bridge in frontal attacks by land, this earliest of great military strategists therefore perfected his command of the sea, and then sailing up the Syrian coast northward parallel with the bridge, he landed his forces along its northern half and flanked all the enemy's positions south of his landing. By landing at the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean, directly under the gates of the Asia Minor bastion, the entire bridge between Asia and Africa is gained at a single stroke by any Power operating from Egypt as a base. With the exception of this failure to utilize her command of the sea, England's operations in this region to-day, especially the advance through Palestine, are but a repetition of a military drama which has been enacted here over and over again since the sixteenth century B. C. I might quote the records still preserved on the walls of Karnak, and if I were only to substitute the name of General Allenby for that of Thutmose III, the reader might almost imagine he had before him the dispatches of the British commander to London during the last few months.

This inter-continental bridge, which the British commander, like many a Pharaoh before him, is battling to recover, will never be safe without such an adjustment in Asia Minor as to render the peoples there either securely friendly or permanently powerless. If England, therefore, is to maintain her line of communications with the Pacific through Suez, she must possess not only Egypt on one side of Suez, but on the other side the entire five hundred-mile bridge right up to the southeastern gates of the Asia Minor bastion, and such control beyond the bridgehead as to prevent the canal from being threatened as it is still threatened at the present moment by the mere existence of an actively hostile Power in Asia Minor.

It is this menace which gives the Bagdad railway at the present moment solely political and military significance. With the British in possession of Babylonia and the Persian Gulf, the Bagdad railway is chiefly a factor in the strategic of the eastern Mediterranean, and it will remain so as long as the Turks control Asia Minor. It now supports the armies of Turkey, reinforced and led by Germans, confronting the British in Palestine and Mesopotamia; and the peace conditions must see to it that this can never happen again. I have already spent too much space in setting forth the far-reaching strategic importance of Asia Minor to trespass very much further in discussing how this might be done; but I would like to add one or two remarks suggesting some fundamental principles which should underlie any settlement in the Near East at all likely to be permanent. The British Empire has become a great and sacred international trust, with responsibilities of vital importance for all mankind. With a high sense of the moral obligations involved in these responsibilities, British statesmen have everywhere met them with a fidelity, efficiency, and success, marred chiefly by the treatment of Persia, which rebuffed some of us very grievously for a time. But that is happily passed, and to-day the British Empire furnishes the basic organization for policing the world. It must be supported and strengthened at every point *strategically requiring it.*

Let the English therefore extend their protectorate control over Palestine, Syria, and a free Armenia, stretching from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean and shutting off the Turks from all access to the region east of the Mediterranean. The Turks will then have no access to the Asiatic-African bridgehead, being cut off by the Armenian protectorate and also by something still more essential to the safety of Suez, the British fortified positions in the Taurus and Amanus ranges above Alexandretta, commanding the points where the tunnels of the Bagdad railway cut through these mountains as the road passes eastward into the Euphrates valley. These fortified positions should be Eng-

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land's Asiatic Gibraltar protecting Suez on the Asiatic side. Without them her present campaign in Palestine will certainly not be the last. This done, the eastern section of the Bagdad railway should then become an Alexandretta-Persian Gulf railroad in English hands. The western section (from Constantinople to Alexandretta) should then be permanently cut off from any control in Germany by such enlargement of Servia and Rumania as will form a barrier clear across the Balkan Peninsula, effectually barring German expansion eastward into Asia Minor. The military lords of Germany must be met by a clear-eyed discernment of the strategic necessities for holding them firmly in check. By their barbarous conduct of the war and their policy of unrestricted robbery and annexation, they, and with them civilians like Dietrich Schaefer, have demonstrated Germany's complete unfitness to share in international responsibilities, and as long as they remain the masters of the German people, Germany should be allowed no voice whatever in the control of the Near East.

If such an adjustment seems to disregard the fact of French railways in Syria, let it be said at once that strategic safety must not be sacrificed to commercial considerations like this. These railways can never be made a strategic reason for a French protectorate in this region. The most punctilious respect for French national feeling and the very natural desire of a great nation on the Mediterranean for a share in responsibilities like these may surely be satisfied in other regions where such ambitions may follow the line of natural strategic development. France already has great possessions and responsibilities in northern and western Africa. Let her therefore have western Africa from Morocco down to Cameroon and the Congo, with such exceptions as the present neutral holdings there may require.

In endeavoring to discuss Professor Jastrow's admirable treatment of these questions,* I have finally been unable to proceed in any other way than first to present my own views and conclusions, which had already been roughed out for publication in book form, when I learned that my friend, Professor Jastrow, already had such a volume in galley proofs. In four chapters he gives the reader a clear, accurate, and admirably written survey of the course of the present war in the Near East, the past history of Asia Minor, and the story of the Bagdad railway; together with a penetrating discussion of the treatment which the whole situation should receive. The book should and undoubtedly will become the standard handbook on this fundamental problem of the war, and the author's standing as one of the leading Orientalists of the present generation will give it the authority which it deserves. In some matters we differ. As a matter of history the old conclusion that the capture of Constantinople by the Turks had much influence on maritime exploration will doubtless have to be given up. I think also that the prime significance of Asia Minor lies in the fact that it commands the link between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and for this reason, added to the historical fact that the international concert has chronically broken down at the critical juncture, I am unable to support the author's view that the Bagdad railway should be placed under international control. But the various factors involved in the situation have been presented by Professor Jastrow with the greatest candor and impartiality, and he is to be congratulated upon the production of a volume singularly suggestive and useful for the present time.

[In response to our request for a review of Professor Jastrow's work on "The War and the Bagdad Railway," Professor Breasted has written the foregoing article setting forth his own solution of the Eastern question. Professor Breasted's view of the historic importance of the highway stretching across Asia Minor is substantially the same as that set forth by Professor Jastrow, but Professor Breasted's deductions differ radically from those of his colleague. Both authorities agree that Egypt needs for its protection against an attack from the north the control of the stretch along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, but that protection, Professor Jastrow holds, can be secured quite as effectively by an international protectorate over this region as by giving to any one European Power a preponderating influence over the destinies of the Near East. The same principle would apply to the other outlet of the highway at the Persian Gulf.

The main objection to Professor Breasted's proposition to place the strip along the Mediterranean down to the Suez Canal, as also the territory at the Persian Gulf (and Professor Breasted would even add Armenia), under the exclusive protectorate of England, is indicated by Professor Breasted himself, who recognizes that such a claim might be regarded as unfair to France, whose interests in the Near East are fully as great as those of England, and whose claims are of equally long standing. And why leave out Italy, which also has ambitions for the southern coast of Asia Minor? To undo one wrong by running the danger of committing another does not promise well for a permanent solution of a complicated problem. A solution of the Eastern question must begin with the establishment of a correct principle.

Professor Jastrow proposes: (1) that the Bagdad railway should be internationalized; (2) that the Turkish Empire in Asia Minor should be divided up according to natural divisions, and that the guarantee for the independence and protection of these divisions should likewise be international. In favor of this solution two considerations may be urged: First, the interests of all European nations in the Near East can thus be recognized without creating a menace through the dominating influence of any particular country or group of countries. Second, by placing such sections as Arabia, Palestine and Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia under a joint international guarantee, we should not only be safeguarding the interests of the population of these sections, which do not properly belong to the Turkish Empire, but we should be directly promoting their legitimate national aspirations and thus aiding in the resuscitation of the East. Professor Breasted's solution, like all solutions which involve the control of a considerable portion of the East by any European Power or combination of Powers, leads almost of necessity to exploitation. Unless we are willing to recognize the political independence of the East as the ultimate goal of European intervention, the Eastern question will continue to be an influence disturbing to the world's peace. International coöperation in promoting the welfare and political education of Eastern nationalities, divided into independent groups on the basis of geographical and economical considerations—reinforced by historical development—appears to us the solution suggested both by the lessons of the past century and by present conditions.—EDITOR OF THE NATION.]

*_The War and the Bagdad Railway._ By Morris Jastrow, with fourteen illustrations and a map. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. $1.50.

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A New Financial System

By JOHN A. FAIRLIE

CONGRESSMAN MEDILL McCORMICK, of Illinois, has introduced in the House of Representatives (March 14) a series of bills and resolutions providing for a budget system of national finance. These form a notable contribution towards this important subject; and a discussion and analysis of the proposed measures, with some constructive suggestions, may be of service in promoting consideration of this problem.

It may be noted at the outset that these proposals present a much more comprehensive programme for changed financial methods than those heretofore presented. A good deal has been written about the importance of an executive budget, and some of the plans for such a budget propose to do away with all committee action on financial matters by members in Congress except the discussions in committee of the whole. Other plans have urged the necessity for a consolidation of Congressional committees on finance. It has been suggested that the power of the House Committee on Appropriations over all appropriation bills should be restored and that the various committees on departmental expenditures should be consolidated.

The McCormick proposals provide for a systematic and revised budget of financial estimates, prepared by the executive. They also provide for a reorganization and consolidation of Congressional committees on finance. They further provide for important changes in the organization of the Treasury Department. Each of these features deserves consideration.

The plan for budget estimates provides that the departmental estimates of expenditures shall be revised by the Secretary of the Treasury and submitted to the President, with estimates of revenues and recommendations for new revenue legislation. The proposal to place this work under the Secretary of the Treasury rather than under the immediate control of the President is a distinct improvement over former proposals for an executive budget. There would seem, however, to be need for the creation of special agencies in the Treasury Department to deal with the detailed work of revising the departmental estimates. Especially is there need for a more active coördination of the principal revenue departments of the Government. There might well be provided a controller of revenue, who should be responsible for revenue estimates and who should likewise have general supervision both over the internal revenue and over the customs service.

Provision is made, under these plans, for the examination of the budget estimates by Congressional committees; but in place of several committees controlling appropriations and the Committee on Ways and Means, there is proposed (House Resolution No. 277) a single budget committee in the House of Representatives to consist of forty members—this committee to propose amendments to the estimates by reducing the amounts, or to make increases only by a two-thirds vote. It is further provided by this measure that the budget committee shall report the estimates with proposals for revenue legislation to the House in the form of a single bill.

It may be noted that the plan for a single budget committee and for a single budget bill dealing both with revenue and appropriation legislation goes further in the way of consolidation than the budget methods of other countries. In Great Britain there are separate appropriation and revenue bills, and they are discussed by the House of Commons sitting in two committees of the whole. If there is to be a single budget committee, there would seem to be need for making definite provision, at least for two principal sub-committees, one dealing with revenue legislation and another with appropriations. It may also be suggested that the creation of a joint finance committee, representing both the House and the Senate, is also worthy of consideration.

In addition to the budget committee, there is also proposed (House Resolution No. 276) a single committee on departmental accounts to take the place of the present series of inactive committees on the expenditures of the several departments, with the proviso that the chairman of this committee shall not be a member of the party in control of the House. The latter proviso is taken from the practice in the British House of Commons, where, however, there seems to be no formal rule on the subject. A single committee on accounts, such as here proposed, which shall make an active examination of the financial reports and accounts of the Government, is a much-needed reform in our financial methods. A single joint committee for both houses of Congress might, however, be better than a separate committee in each house.

In connection with the work of the committee on departmental accounts, Mr. McCormick proposes to take from the Treasury Department the function of auditing accounts and to abolish the offices of the several auditors for the different departments. In their place he proposes an auditor-general, with auxiliary officers and assistants, to be appointed by a committee composed of the Speaker, the majority leader, and the minority leader of the House of Representatives. The auditor-general is to examine the departmental accounts and is apparently expected to work in connection with the proposed House committee on departmental accounts.

The organization here proposed bears some resemblance to the British system, where the Controller and Auditor-General and the House of Commons Committee on Public Accounts occupy a position outside the Treasury Department. But the plan fails to recognize an important distinction between (1) the keeping of public accounts and the disbursements of moneys and (2) the auditing or examination of accounts and financial reports. The confusion between these two distinct branches of financial administration runs all through the practice of American finance administration, and one of the important reforms needed is to make a sharper distinction between these two lines of work.

Under our present practice, the Controller of the Treasury and the several departmental auditors are primarily officials who control the disbursement of funds from the Treasury. That work is also, in Great Britain and other countries, done by the Treasury or Finance Department, and is properly a function of the executive administration. There is need for reorganization of this accounting service. The independent powers of the several auditors might well be done away with, their functions should be developed into those of an accounting staff, and the title of "auditor" should be changed to one that will indicate more definitely the character of the work. But this accounting work and

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the direct control of disbursements should remain in the Treasury Department.

There is also need, however, for a systematic examination or auditing of the Government accounts, which should be made by an officer acting in close connection with the Congressional committee or committees on public accounts. Such an auditor-general or examiner of accounts might well be appointed either by the joint committee on public accounts, if such is established, or by joint action of the House and Senate. This officer should, moreover, not be subject to change with every change of party control in Congress, but should have a permanent status, being removable only by the joint action of both houses.

The work of the auditor-general, or examiner of accounts, should be, not to examine and settle current accounts, which should continue to be done in the Treasury Department, but to audit and examine the completed accounts and financial reports. Moreover, these accounts and reports should not be a series of detached "department accounts," but should be a comprehensive centralized accounting system, conducted through the accounting offices in the Treasury Department. The committee on public accounts should cooperate with the auditor-general, or examiner of accounts, and in particular should consider the report of this officer in detail and make recommendations both to the Treasury Department and to Congress.

The Attic of the Past

By LOUIS GINSBERG

I STUMBLED on a hidden door
Up in the chambers of my heart;
I had not guessed of it before,
I flung it open with a start,—
I flung it open to a room,
And knew, by shadows that were cast
Upon the litter in the gloom,
It was the Attic of my Past.
I saw the Chest of olden Days
Was emptied out upon the floor:
Letters with many a searching phrase;
And crumpled scraps that some one tore;
The silt of flowers of a June;
Old ribbons, faded joys, and books;
And broken bits of hopes were strewn
About the corners and the nooks;
Moth-eaten days were smears of grime;
The stagnant silence mouldered there,
Musty with dreams . . . and dust of Time
Was deeply drifted everywhere.

Oh, in that chamber in my soul,
Among the shadows of that room,
Old hungers all about me stole. . . .
Then as I bent within the gloom,
What laughter was it that I heard?
What stir of footsteps entered in?
What was the murmur, what the word,
That made my heart a swirling din,
That made me lean to other eyes—
And made the sudden tears arise?

Correspondence

Women and War

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In Andreas Latzko's book "Men in War" he assails women in a manner that certainly gives food for thought. To a large extent I agree with the writer. I believe that to women is given the task of putting an end to wars forever. I have a beloved son at the front, and oddly enough he, while fighting for his country, has caught the vision of war that most women have sought. God knows that the world needs all the brains and all the differences of thought to settle its problems, and it should be no proof of a woman's love and faith in a man to follow him blindly when, by using her divine right of self-expression, she might lead him and serve her country and the world. But—and here I take exception to Mr. Latzko—it has been men, not women, who have most stifled the leaders among women who demanded the weapons with which to combat the very evil that our writer now calls upon them to attack. In Mr. Latzko's own country the suppression of women is most noticeable, and it is evident that he has a mighty work to do at home.

HARRIET T. COMSTOCK

Flatbush, June 1

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The attitude of Andreas Latzko towards women and war (quoted in your very able review of the 25th) is not so novel to me as it seems to be to some women with whom I have discussed it. For example, a young soldier—a volunteer—said to me recently: "We men are getting tired of the bloodthirsty women." An older man, a Canadian, said to a group of pacifist women in my hearing: "I did not know there were women like you in the world. But I am mighty glad there are. Of course, we cannot be governed by your point of view, yet I think it will help me keep my idealism about women." In general, it seems to me that even the most ardent soldiers I know wish to feel they are going to the front entirely of their own volition; that their women are, at most, bravely acquiescing in their stern resolve, not in any sense forcing them into danger.

Andreas Latzko is, of course, going several steps farther when he blames us women for not holding the men back. To try to hold them, to throw ourselves in front of their trains, as he suggests, would surely be an unjustifiable interference with their lives, with their responsibility for their own souls.

We have our responsibilities in this war. I wish that more of us might free ourselves from tradition and sentiment in order to face them squarely. But we must not let men put their guilt upon us. Perhaps this book by Latzko should be, in every sense, a warning to us. I for one feel that I could not bear it if, when the day of reckoning comes, the Prussians should try to slide from under by complaining: "If the German women had insisted upon votes and seats in the Reichstag—as they should have done—they could have prevented those first, fatal war credits, and this calamity would not have been forced upon men."

ELINOR BYRNS

Rosebank, N. Y., May 31

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WILLIAMS COLLEGE REBEL ORIG

English Food Hoarders and Wasters

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The English Ministry of Food has announced that George Ritchie, of Cumberland Terrace, Regents Park, has been fined $500, with $75 costs, for hoarding foodstuffs to the extent of 87 pounds of rice, 38 pounds of lentils, 31 pounds of beans, and 21 pounds of macaroni—considerably more fine than food! Also, John Andrews, a farmer of Woburn, has been fined $250 and some costs for permitting a stack of wheat to be damaged by rats that seem to have made way with between five and six bushels of wheat. Witnesses declared that from 80 to 100 rats were involved in this crime. It is estimated, I may add, that we lose annually to rats in this country foodstuffs equivalent to an amount produced by the full-time labor of 200,000 men.

VERNON KELLOGG

Washington, June 3

The Framing of Ideals

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A letter from Mr. V. Sydney Rothschild entitled "Materialism Will Win the War" (*Nation* of May 11) shows how easily, under the stress of war, we become the prey of a facile pragmatism. Judgment comes to be merely the expression of a personal point of view, so that what was vicious in foe becomes laudable in friend, and the distinction is lost between winning the war and achieving the aims for which the war is ostensibly waged. Are we not now at war precisely because Germany relied upon materialism to win her war?

Letting ideals take care of themselves until needed is running a dangerous chance, like allowing children to grow to maturity without attention or training. If the end, falling upon a world spiritually unprepared, were to turn out to be but the replacing of Prussian militarism by British, French, and American militarism, how would the world be better off for the appalling experiences of the last four years? Evidences are only too prevalent that without a conscious attention to ideals such a contingency cannot be assumed as impossible.

IRVING F. MORROW

San Francisco, Cal., May 18

"Religions Past and Present"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A couple of weeks ago you had no fault to find with a volume called "Religions of the World," although the "world" comprised only the Orient and classic lands. Yet this week your reviewer treats rather harshly a volume called "Religions Past and Present," because it does not include some religions of the East. Your reviewer also wants to know for what sort of an audience it is intended. Surely for the sort for whom it was written and to whom it was originally delivered. May I assure your readers that if they belonged to the class of cultivated people who desire to know something about religions other than their own, they will find in "Religions Past and Present" a very clear and scholarly presentation of facts, quite easily understood, *pace* your reviewer?

E. W. H.

New Haven, Conn., May 24

The New Poetry

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. O. W. Firkins, writing in your issue of April 4 on "Tendencies in Modern American Poetry," by Amy Lowell, in his haste to point out an occasional inadvertence, several of which he has been at great pains to discover, but which are not of sufficient interest to provoke the discussion that they invite, has forgotten to note that the "new poetry," unlike the old, develops a prose of great force and beauty, a prose that, as it is less conventional than the old, is also at once more direct and more philosophical in its technique.

Of this democratic, as opposed to the old aristocratic, prose, "Tendencies in Modern American Poetry" is a fine example, and one that is all the more worth noting because it directs our attention away from the pedantries and prejudices with which the discussion of *vers libre* has been so unworthily belittled, to the serious truth that the "New Movement" is not a vesture, but a life, and that what has been ridiculed as a fad is, in reality, nothing less than the birth of an American literature. So far as I know, there have not been even three wise men to note its Star and bring gifts, but in Miss Lowell's book at least one evangelical narrative has now been written, with many breaks, perhaps, as is the way of evangels, and with this omission in particular, that the author's own work (the most important of all) is not discussed. Whether Meleager or Leonidas of Tarentum wrote a certain Greek epitaph and whether "little acrid archive men" is irony or sarcasm are as remote from the essence of the matter as is the accuracy of a Pentateuchal quotation in St. Luke from the question of the authenticity of his Gospel.

Inasmuch as your readers have already gathered one conception of Miss Lowell's volume from Mr. Firkins's account, may I have the privilege of inserting, with this much of introduction, a paragraph from the book itself, which may indicate the importance of the subject-matter and illustrate the clarity of its composition?

> The poets of the New Movement are all intensely national; they are not, as I have already pointed out, what the older generation were, followers of an English tradition. They love their country, and are proud of being her sons. But people differ in their way of showing affection. Some men never speak of it, although it is a constant influence; others shout it from the housetops. . . . It is a sort of *leit-motif* appearing again and again, and preferably on the trumpets. The symbol of this Americanism is the figure of Lincoln.
>
> Washington and Lincoln are the two great symbols of American life. But to deal adequately with Washington needs an historical sense, a knowledge of the eighteenth century, which few of our poets yet possess. (The only man I know who has given this feeling for Washington at all is a Frenchman, Henri de Régnier, and he has done it in prose.) It is therefore to Lincoln that our poets turn as an embodiment of the highest form of the typical American, the fine flower and culmination of our life as a separate nation.

Is it not evident that one can detract from the value of Miss Lowell's book only by underestimating the importance of the movement which it represents?

The accusation of partiality which Mr. Firkins brings against Miss Lowell's "Tendencies" also arises from a failure to view the volume in the light of its purpose. At least, I do not understand the book to mean, "These are the most worthy of note among modern American poets," but rather,

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"These most clearly illustrate the tendencies which I wish to explain." I do think, however, that the author should have added a chapter on her own work. Only small minds would have accused her of self-praise for so doing, while as a review of "Tendencies in Modern American Poetry" the volume is incomplete without such a study.

FREDERICK W. BURROWS

Boston, May 8

More Amends to Senator La Follette

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Inasmuch as Senator La Follette never said, "We had no grievance against Germany," my letter on "What Is a Grievance?" published in the *Nation*, or the small part of it relating to the misquoted sentence, loses its point. Consequently, all oblique conclusions hanging upon that point are gladly and penitently withdrawn.

ELLEN BURNS SHERMAN

May 31

[In justice to our correspondent, it should be stated that some time ago, on receiving a copy of a St. Paul paper containing a correct report of Senator La Follette's speech, Miss Sherman at once wrote the *Nation* a letter withdrawing her own remarks based on the incorrect version. This letter, unfortunately, we were unable to publish at the time, and we therefore gladly give space to the present one.—MANAGING EDITOR.]

Architecture and Housing

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Talbot F. Hamlin's criticism in your issue of May 11 of the apparent flippancy or rather loss of opportunity of the architectural profession as disclosed by the recent "successful" exhibition of the Architectural League is very timely. During a period of war, when certain essentials to be produced are within the scope of the architect, the non-essentials are given the highest honor. In fact, almost nothing is being added to our fund of housing information by architects; yet housing, one would suppose, is a subject that should be covered by the architects.

The main chance has been the lure too strong to resist, and so it seems that most housing has been dictated by the wealthy individual or corporation, without the guiding intelligence of a free-thinking and progressive architect. It has been easy for us to imitate England, and it seems that the English programme of individual houses is the only solution that our minds are capable of considering. To modify, perfect, and adjust the multiple dwelling, which is the tendency of the classes as well as the masses of America, is apparently too great a strain for the imagination. There is so much to say in favor of the individual house which is perfectly obvious that there seldom seems time or space to mention any other type. He who works out, however, some schemes of providing the comforts and conveniences of the city amid the beauty and space of the country at reasonable rates may be doing his bit towards staying the tide of population from the health and breadth of the country to the congestion of the city.

HENRY ATTERBURY SMITH

New York, May 16

BOOKS

Four Women

Portraits and Backgrounds. By Evangeline Wilbour Blashfield. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50 net.

THE title of Mrs. Blashfield's book is well chosen to describe what she has undertaken to do. In each of her four essays of considerable length she gives, so far as possible, an intimate biography of a woman of marked personality and places her in the society amidst which her part was played. The range of subjects chosen is wide in time and interest. One is Hrotsvitha, the tenth-century nun of Gandersheim, who wrote a series of Latin dramas; another is Aphra Behn of Restoration fame; another, a Greek slave named Aïssé, who had a strange career of love and religion in the France of the Regent; and the last is Rosalba Carriera, the Venetian artist who made a name for herself in the eighteenth century and left charming pastels of many of the distinguished men and women of the age.

Naturally the proportion of portraiture and background varies in these essays. As very little is known of the personal life of Hrotsvitha, portraiture here sinks, so to speak, into the background, and in its place we have a vivid picture of the conditions under which she must have written her works, and an analysis of the plays themselves, with translations of considerable extracts. Mrs. Blashfield justly emphasizes the touches which show how the modern romantic spirit was struggling to the surface in these monkish imitations of Terence.

The study of Aphra Behn is the most elaborate of the four and falls in with a recent movement, not entirely judicious, to rehabilitate that extraordinary lady as a significant figure of the Restoration. Significant Mrs. Behn certainly was, in a sense. She is one of the landmarks of the new sentimentalism that was creeping into English literature and was to make such devastating inroads in the century following. But the intrinsic merit of Mrs. Behn's literary achievements is another question. Beside the epithets "eloquent," "vivid," "simple appeal to the emotions," etc., which Mrs. Blashfield applies to the novel of "Oroonoko," one is inclined to set the brusque words of Anthony Trollope, no mean authority in such a matter: "I never . . . read more detestable trash than stories written by Mrs. Aphra Behn." Perhaps the truth here—as we are so wont to say in our comfortable desire to escape the responsibilities of judgment—lies in the mean between these two extremes; but we suspect it lies nearer to Trollope than to Mrs. Blashfield.

On another point one would take issue more decidedly. In a recent study Professor Bernbaum has attacked the supposed realism of Mrs. Behn's description of life in Surinam, and even questions whether the lady ever saw that colony. Mrs. Blashfield will have none of this cold, destructive criticism, and dwells lovingly on the local color of "Oroonoko" and on the psychological veracity of the African prince's character. Into the vexed question of Mrs. Behn's actual life and adventures we will not enter, but we do protest that the vaunted realism of the tale is, to use a vulgarism, all in your eye. Particularly, the figure of the "noble savage" may be important in the history of fiction, but to speak of it as having "an accent of truth, as

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well as an atmosphere of realism," strikes us as a strange aberration of judgment.

But that error, as we are bound to call it, though fundamental in a way, affects only a small part of Mrs. Blashfield's essay. In dealing with Mrs. Behn's plays she is in the main critically just and discriminating; though we should have welcomed an acute discussion of the relation between the Restoration wit of Mrs. Behn and the wit of Beaumont and Fletcher. In our opinion, quite the best of Mrs. Blashfield's work here is in the "background." Her account of the Restoration life at court and on the stage is vivacious and full of information well used, and she gives a brilliant story of the struggles and vexations to which a woman hack-writer of that age must have been subjected. All this is good reading.

The other essays, on Aïssé and Rosalba Carriera, we must leave unnoticed. We can assure the reader that he will find them entertaining. Mrs. Blashfield wears her learning lightly.

War Time Control of Industry

War Time Control of Industry. The Experience of England. By Howard L. Gray. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.75.

THE United States embarked seriously on the business of war over a year ago. Until recently we have profited largely by it and have felt few of the sacrifices it entails either in lives or in well-being. England, on the other hand, is now approaching the end of her fourth year of participation in the conflict. She has expended vast resources; a large part of her population are under arms; heavy casualties have been suffered, and the laboring classes have undergone an exceptional strain of steady application to war tasks. These experiences have created a temper in marked contrast with that thus far prevailing in the United States.

In the second place, geographical conditions and industrial specialization have placed England in a position of dependence as regards many of the essentials of life. This finds no parallel in the United States, where the worst danger is that of shortage of some commodities for which measurably satisfactory substitutes can often be found. In the case of England, the possibility of famine conditions is ever imminent. With food supplies she can afford to take no risks.

Considerations such as these, in spite of a predilection and tradition against governmental control, have gradually impelled England towards state control as far-reaching as it is unwonted. This control has passed through three phases. The first, extending over ten months, was one of tentative, obviously self-protective, action. The state was loath to interfere. Ships were requisitioned for the Admiralty and the military, and munitions plants were enlisted in the Government service. Sugar consumption was taken under control, and surplus wheat was acquired; but the really bold stroke was the taking over of the railways.

Meanwhile, during the winter of 1914–15, prices of foodstuffs and of coal rose sharply; increasing friction developed between employer and employee, and the imperative need of abundant munitions of war became increasingly urgent. Resulting agitation bore first fruits in the Munitions of War act of June, 1915, the conception and passage of which marks the beginning of the second phase of control. This enactment, with the Defence of the Realm act already permitting the conversion of engineering into munitions plants, made for progress in munitions making.

But the question of labor was one calling for perennial consideration and adjustment. In the conferences preceding the passage of the Munitions act, the trades unions agreed to relax their rules on condition that the employer's profits be restricted. This the act provided, with accompanying provisions for compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes and for "leaving certificates" in munitions work. An understanding was likewise reached permitting a measure of dilution of labor. By these enactments the proportion of women in munitions factories was gradually increased, migration of workers from plant to plant was minimized, and labor disputes were reduced to harmless proportions.

The Government was less fortunate in its dealings with the coal miners. Repeated efforts at conciliation yielded no stable results, so that at the end of 1916 recourse was forced to direct control of the mines, first in South Wales, and soon after throughout Great Britain.

Other instances of extended control, illustrative of this second phase, were the acquisition of the wool clip of Great Britain and the purchasing of the larger one of Australia, the buying of domestic and imported hides on a more restricted scale, and the requisitioning of shipping space on vessels plying to Australasia and to the Argentine. This control was extended from time to time until by the end of 1916 little British shipping was unaffected.

The third phase is one of still more stringent control. Towards the end of 1916, the increased cost of living, magnified by the shortage of ships, gave rise to vigorous public criticism. The Government was forced to venture on the hazardous policy of price-fixing. In the course of a year maximum prices were placed on the most important articles of food. For wheat a price below cost was eventually established, to be made good by Government subsidy. On the side of the producer, maximum yield was stimulated by minimum prices for wheat and oats, covering a succession of years. This was a method of escape from the danger of a shortage of ocean tonnage. People were encouraged to save food, by persuasion and subsequently by rationing.

In the production of essential commodities other than food, the Government resorted to priority schemes, which have ignored individual claims and have concentrated industrial energies upon production essential to war.

Such, in brief outline, is the ground covered by Mr. Gray in a succession of clearly detailed chapters, each dealing with a measurably distinct field of economic activity; for example, Railways, Coal Mines, Wool and Woollens, Food, Shipping, etc. But the chapter of largest interest to American readers will doubtless be the final one. This states conclusions and makes comparisons between English practice and our own. Great Britain has naturally adopted the more energetic methods of control. The United States still relies more largely than England on the voluntary coöperation of its citizens. In the campaign for economy in the consumption of food we have used little compulsion. Main reliance has been placed on intelligent coöperation, induced by educational propaganda and enforced by public opinion. In Great Britain, on the other hand, before the end of 1917 waste of food had become a criminal offence, the use of war bread was obligatory, sugar had long been rationed, and other foodstuffs were soon to be included. Compulsion

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had become the rule, while coöperation still remained the privilege of American consumers.

In the industrial uses of steel and copper, there was voluntary acceptance by American producers of prices offered by the Government. Here again English experience has been more far-reaching. Plants were transformed, profits were restricted, and vigorous priority regulations were adopted.

The labor problem is clearly the most perplexing of all those arising out of the war. The United States thus far has merely begun to face it. Voluntary coöperation is still our rule of action. In Great Britain, arbitration has become largely compulsory; and where it has not been accepted, as it was not by the miners, state control of the industry followed.

In the matter of control over foodstuffs, imported wool and hides, we promptly resorted to governmental interference. All grain elevators and large mills were brought under a licensing system and wheat was purchased through a grain corporation. Imported wool and hides have been apportioned under governmental supervision. The action of England was at first more hesitant, but in the end more comprehensive. In the spring of 1917 maximum prices were set for domestic wheat, oats, and barley, and a selling price for bread was fixed below that warranted by the maximum prices for wheat and flour. To the farmer liberal prices have been guaranteed over a period of six years. Even a minimum wage for agricultural laborers was established. Sugar is sold at a price fixed by the Government, and during the past six months it has been impartially distributed in limited amounts to consumers. In the case of wool, the home clip has twice been commandeered, the Australian clip twice bought, and distribution has been strictly controlled. In all of these cases of governmental intervention, England has been concerned about both the supply and the price. Our great concern has been over prices. The same considerations apply to hides and leather, commodities which the British Government does not so fully control as it does wool.

With the railways, action in the two countries has been nearly parallel; with coal mines, English action has been more radical than ours; but in the case of shipping, our Government has gone further, by assuming the responsibilities of builder and merchant shipper.

In Mr. Gray's view, the United States may, in a general way, learn much from English experience.

It was at first hoped that voluntary coöperation in the United States might achieve what in England has required state control. This hope is no longer entertained in regard to merchant shipping or the railways. It is fading in the case of the coal mines. Its brightness has been dimmed by the introduction of various restrictions upon trading in foodstuffs and in wool. It persists still relative only to the production of munitions, the conciliation of labor, and the consumption of food. Always, however, as the hope wanes, the experiences recorded in the preceding chapters are turned to, and the wisdom taught by them carefully pondered.

The permanent significance of governmental control of industry cannot be foreseen. Restrictive measures have been adopted as war expedients, and assurance is given that with peace the conditions of peace will be restored. "What will have been created, however, is precedent and experience; and in the industrial world which emerges from the war, these may have more importance than at the moment is anticipated."

A Study in Church Law

American Civil Church Law. By Carl Zollman. Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law. New York: Longmans, Green & Company. $3.50.

IT is difficult to see how such a study as this could have been better done. The author sets out to make a book dealing "compactly and logically" with the legal aspects of the relation of Church and State in America, and the result is exceedingly interesting and valuable, especially at this time, when the reunion of several of the larger denominations of the country is being agitated. This is the first attempt at such a study, and it should find a wide reading among lawyers, students of American institutions, clergymen, and officers of religious denominations. This book is one of those careful and painstaking studies which take years to prepare. It deals with the civil law, applicable to churches; and yet the author has done more than give a mere digest of hundreds of cases cited, for in every instance he has clearly stated the law. Each chapter is closed with a brief summary, from which its scope and contents may be gained at the minimum expense of time. There are chapters on Religious Liberty; Forms, Nature, and Powers of Church Corporations; Church Constitutions; Schisms; Church Decisions; Tax Exemptions; Disturbance of Meetings; Contracts, especially dealing with the relation of ministers to congregations; Clergymen; Officers; Pew Rights; Church Cemeteries; while the last chapter is devoted to the peculiar deed of the Methodist Episcopal Church, using that as an example of how the form of church government affects the method of holding property.

The chapter on Religious Liberty gives a clear-cut statement as to the rights of religious bodies and individuals to exercise their peculiar religion, under the United States Constitution and the various State Constitutions and laws. A reader of this chapter will come away with a very definite idea as to just what is meant by religious liberty in America. He will learn, among many other things, that a believer in the Mormon religion may "stock a harem for the other world" by celestial marriages, "provided he is able to sidestep more than one terrestrial marriage at any one time." He will learn that religious liberty does not mean license to engage in acts having a tendency to disturb the public peace, under the form of worship, and that a man may believe as he pleases as long as he obeys the law. Not only does the state allow any belief, but it takes positive means of protecting the individual or organization in that belief, by passing laws against the disturbance of meetings and exempting church property from taxation. We learn in another chapter that all the States allow churches to incorporate except Virginia and West Virginia, while all church corporations, in the eyes of the law, are private in their nature, and cannot be public corporations.

The author devotes considerable space to the legal phases of the union of the Cumberland Presbyterian and Presbyterian Churches, which was consummated in 1906. Two State Supreme Courts held that the union of these two churches was illegal, and one State, Tennessee, still maintains that position. In the union of the several denominations which will probably take place in the future, there are bound to be contests in the courts, and to those interested in such movements this book will prove most interesting as well as most useful.

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French War Stories

The Man Who Survived. By Camille Marbo. Translated by Frank Hunter Potter. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Soldiers Both. By Gustave Guiches. Translated by Frederic Taber Cooper. New York: Frederick A. Stokes & Company.

You No Longer Count (Tu N'es Plus Rien!). By René Boylesve. Translated from the French by Louise Seymour Houghton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

CURRENT French fiction, like our own, makes use of the war as a source of plot and situation, or draws upon it as a reservoir of ideas, or deals with it direct, as the all-absorbing and all-containing theme. The three novels in hand represent fairly well these different methods. "The Man Who Survived" may be "placed" with several recent stories of men who have undergone psychical as well as physical change at the hands of war; notably "A Soldier of Life," by Hugh de Sélincourt, and "The Return of the Soldier," by Rebecca West. Two French soldiers, old schoolmates and friends, are struck down by the same bullet. One dies and the other survives, but the question is, which one? For the soul of the virtuous young husband appears to have lived on in the body of the lusty, free-living bachelor. Only the body is recognized by the world, and from the first the soul despairs of openly asserting itself. At first it is consciously in control, but with returning health the body makes its demands, and a struggle for supremacy ensues. Meanwhile the widow for her husband's sake has undertaken the care of his friend. She is a childlike little woman, between whom and her husband there has been a deep and placid affection. He (if it is he!) now sees that it would be idle and perhaps fatal to try to convey the truth to her, and sets himself to win her anew under the name of the other. In this way he wins and marries her; but his success brings torture; for she has conceived for him, or for the body he inhabits, a selfish and consuming passion infinitely other and lower than her former feeling. He himself is presently betrayed by that body into its old habits. In the upshot he welcomes his return to perfect health and the firing line as the only possible exit from an otherwise hopeless impasse. "I am not this one or that," he says, as he turns his face towards the front. "I am a soldier, like all those about me." The tale is adroitly told, but one cannot be unaware of it as essentially an elaboration of a clever "idea."

"Soldiers Both," like Marcel Berger's "Ordeal by Fire," records the making over by the war of a still young but disillusioned Parisian. In this case the man is willing enough to fight, but is kept out of the service by a rheumatic heart and must learn his lesson among the stay-at-homes. As a boy he has brought to Paris from his native Midi its own fresh vigor and savor, and through them his novels and plays have won a large hearing. But success and the life of Paris have sapped his real strength, his work loses its tang of the soil, becomes ingenious and morbid; his public turns away from him, and he feels himself a failure. In the hope of winning back his inspiration, he returns to his own land. It has lost its hold upon him, or he has lost his power of interpreting it. Its natural beauty has dwindled, its people bore him, and he is on the point of shaking off its dust when the war comes. His ennui is slain: to be a soldier will wipe out everything. Then he is refused, and the real test comes. He meets it by volunteering to take the place in the fields of a peasant friend who has been called to the colors. His officially condemned heart stands the strain of the hardest toil; and he is able to feel that he also is a soldier, though he cannot take his place in the front lines. But the experience is not to be as simple as all this. The peasant has left behind a pretty young wife, excessively feminine, a child of nature. She has never loved her husband with passion; and her head and heart are turned by her comradeship in labor with the gentleman for whom she has always had a secret worship. She lays siege to him with all the wiles of a rustic Eve. The story-teller makes her charming—almost irresistible. Propinquity serves her purpose, and our soldier of the fields presently finds himself desperately and traitorously in love with the woman who has been left to his care. It is here that he has his hardest battle, and let the reader who thinks every Frenchman a rake take note of his victory. It is true that without the aid of a second woman he might not have defeated the first; but the fact remains that he emerges a conqueror, turns the little wife's heart towards her soldier-husband, and is not without his reward in the outcome. The narrative is full of delightful humor as well as "Gallic wit"; a species of rural idyl deepened in tone and color by the all-surrounding horizon of war. The translator has done a spirited piece of work, though at times in his determination to be racy and idiomatic he has "taken chances" with bits of American street slang that have an odd ring upon the lips of Parisian or *méridional.*

"You No Longer Count" has less flexibility and more seriousness, is less a novel and more a study of life and the war. As a narrative it is merely the account of the slow and difficult awakening of a little French war-widow to the relative insignificance of her own pain or happiness. In her different station she is as childlike as the peasant wife of "Soldiers Both." After four years she remains the bride of the honeymoon. Her husband is a charming fellow, and returns her passionate devotion. Everything has always gone smoothly with both of them; they have an adequate income, a congenial circle of friends, confidence in the future. Jean happens to be an officer of the reserves, as is proper among his class—a matter of yearly manœuvres which part the young pair for a few days at a time. They are on a holiday at a favorite watering-place when the blow falls: Jean hurries to his place on the frontier and almost at once is killed. Odette nearly goes mad with grief and self-pity. Her love is her religion, and she devotes herself to sorrow. The war has ended for her with her husband's death; she will not think of it, or even of the grief it is bringing to others. She flees from Paris to the place where Jean and she have first met and last parted, to be alone with memory and despair. But she cannot escape. The old scene of gayety has become not a solitude, but a theatre of suffering. She is drawn for a time into the work of its hospitals, and serves well. Even this experience does not wholly rouse her, however; her inner life is still a luxury of sorrow. Still, on her return to Paris, she is repelled by the selfishness of certain members of her old circle and begins half-unwillingly to respond to the self-devotion of others. Especially she is moved by the gradual discovery that La Villaumer, the elderly cynical man of the world who has been a sort of comfortable mentor, is secretly giving all that he has and can to the cause of which he has been so dubious in speech. In the end he puts into words for her the conviction towards which

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reluctantly her nature has been moving; and so nerves her to lay her own offering—the supreme offering of physical faithfulness to her dead mate—upon the altar of the race: "Tu n'es plus rien," he says. "The individual is dead. Provisionally, but for a time which we cannot estimate, the individual is dead. In fact, you yourself have perceived that you no longer have any rights, not even the right to mourn your unending grief. The moment has come to mourn more largely, more grandly, with the only grief that can save a soul like yours. The only hope of a resurrection lies in giving oneself to the common need, and losing oneself in it with love."

Japanese Politics and Politicians

Japan at the Cross-Roads. By A. M. Pooley. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. $3.50 net.

THE author of this book with its taking title is at home with Japanese politics and public men of to-day. Several years ago he edited the "Secret Memoirs of Count Tadasu Hayashi," the Japanese statesman who had most to do with the fateful Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902. As Reuter's correspondent in Tokio for a number of years, he was in immediate touch with financial, economical, and political conditions as seen from the capital. On the whole, he gives a favorable outlook for the future of the country.

He insists, and surely with wisdom, on the need of a persistent and close friendship with the English-speaking commonwealths:

> It would not be exaggerating to say that stoppage of trade with America would spell ruin for Japan. . . . If ever a country was dependent on the Anglo-Saxon races for existence, Japan is. If America and Great Britain were to break off commercial relations with Japan, that country would be converted almost instantaneously into a huge workhouse (pp. 241, 242).

The phrase "the clans' ambitions," used in the chapter on Finance, is indicative of Mr. Pooley's whole treatment. He regards the country as being at present run by a clique of Choshu and Satsuma men in the interests of themselves and their followers; the administration as hardening into a military bureaucracy, throwing sops to the people, but doing nothing to educate them into coöperation. The Constitution of 1890, hailed by the constitutionalists as a triumph for their cause, he considers an expert piece of camouflage. A prominent American lawyer who visited Japan two years ago "was banqueted by a barristers' club in Tokio and presented with a copy in English of the Constitution with Ito's commentaries thereon." After a careful reading of the book, he was puzzled to know where the people came in and asked one of his hosts to enlighten him on this point. "Ah," was the reply, "that's the clever point of our Constitution; they don't come in at all in practice. It's what you call a 'bone without marrow'!"

There is an essential truth in this criticism; Japan *is* to-day at the cross-roads, for the present Premier holds office as a bureaucrat, with a military training and outlook, and not as the choice of Parliament. Count Terauchi, as it happens, is very pro-French in sentiment, and has no pro-German sympathies whatever. He is of the Kitchener type, and made his reputation as an organizer. But he is Premier exactly on the same basis as was Prince Katsura, a thoroughly Prussianized official, who had spent several years in close application to military and administrative problems while at Berlin. "It was there I learnt to work," he was accustomed to say; and the foreign tongue he used was German. The methods of Major Meckel, who was military instructor in Japan for many years, were carried forward into civic life by Katsura and his friends when he became Premier. Under Katsura's two Administrations, "Ministers were nothing better than senior clerks or departmental managers," says Mr. Pooley (page 122); and he adds a footnote by a capable and lifelong student of Japanese institutions—a thoroughgoing democrat, by the way—Carey Hall, late British Consul-General at Yokohama: "Prince Katsura's Government was a military oligarchy. He was a Premier whose aims and methods were very similar to those of Prussian Junkerdom."

Mr. Pooley's estimate of Japanese political leaders is always interesting, but in some cases at least it must be accepted with reservations. He arrived in Japan the year after the tragic death of Prince Ito at Harbin, and can therefore speak of him only by hearsay. Ito and his associate Inouye, two Choshu clansmen, did more than any others to bring back the Emperor to actual rule. Inouye, although the older man, survived his comrade; during his lifetime he was never reckoned by their intimates, nor generally, as Ito's equal in sagacity or force of character. Indeed, New Japan has always been credited essentially to Ito, as a vision made a reality; he did for Japan what Cavour did for Italy. This Inouye "boost" is a new development. Here is our author's comment in a bracketed sentence—the English not impeccable—at the close of page 113: "That Ito rose to the positions he did was partly due to his own ability and opportunities, partly to the Imperial favor, but also to a large extent thanks to Inouye's intelligence and personality."

The most valuable part of Chapter I, dealing with Emperor Worship, is the interesting appendix, "Japanese Court Ladies and Life," which appeared in the *Contemporary Review* of November, 1913. The rest is a labored and ineffective attempt to show that respect for the Emperor is a modern cult fostered for political reasons by a bureaucratic clique, "impotence of the sovereign and the absence of patriotism" being conditions marking Japanese history of the past. Mr. Pooley's review of the history of the country positively bristles with blunders and distortions; his account of the Shogunate, which changed its methods entirely under the Tokugawas, and of Buddhism, revealing a wholly inadequate acquaintance with their influence or development. Some six years ago, just as he was leaving for Europe after a life spent in the Orient, the distinguished philologist, Basil Hall Chamberlain, who had served for several years as professor of Japanese philology in the Imperial University of Tokio, published an article, "The Creation of a New Religion"—perhaps more as a squib than anything else—in which he spoke scathingly of the extravagances of modern officialdom in their new cult of Mikadoism or Emperor worship. He characterized it as a "pious fraud maintained as a political device to control the unenlightened." But Chamberlain, now living in retirement in Switzerland, though excellent in his own department of philology, has been all his life a "citizen of the world," with little or no political instinct. Japanese life and institutions have been to him mere material for literary-scientific investigation, and he has never been in vital sympathy with the Japanese and their aspirations. To take a racy fling of his as the basis for a proper reading of Japanese history is a regrettable mistake; it vitiates Mr. Pooley's treatment and findings.

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What he has to say about economic matters has also to be qualified by the recent extraordinary industrial prosperity in the empire, which has modified conditions. The lack of a good alphabetical index lessens considerably the value of this interesting and stimulating study.

A Contemporary Philosopher

The Philosophy of Benedetto Croce. By H. Wildon Carr. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.25 net.

IN these days of constant alarums and excursions, the pursuit of philosophy is difficult, and any thinking that does not clearly present a human aspect has little chance of popular appeal. The continued interest in the works of M. Bergson is doubtless due to his surveying mankind with extensive view. Doubtless, too, the obscurity here of Benedetto Croce, foremost of Italian philosophers, may be traced to the intensely speculative character of his publications. Yet his interests are probably wider than those of any other living thinker. He is a critic of art and literature as well as a student of mathematics and the ramifications of science. In philosophy he is so well recognized as a master of every period that he has been declared the only contemporary equipped to write the history of human thought. His mind is one of wide scope and profound penetration. He writes in a style, not the equal of William James's in familiar ease, but with a Latin elegance that many a purely literary man might emulate. The most striking feature of his position, however, is the daring and comprehensiveness of his own contributions to philosophy. The persistent effort since Descartes has been to find an effective and final escape from dualism. Croce's distinction is that he presents a view of philosophy which finally delivers it from a dualistic hypothesis. Taking as a cornerstone from Hegel the theory of the distinct concept—that is, that every concept is a unity of opposites—he has built up a simple view of life under two aspects or four moments. He finds in mind only two activities—knowing and doing. Knowing is of particular images, or intuition, and of universal relations, or concepts. Doing is actuated by individual ends or by universal ends; that is, it is economic or ethical.

Now this system has been ordered and simplified by Professor Carr, who shows great skill in selecting leading ideas and bringing together explication of them from various parts of Signor Croce's writings. The ability which he displayed a few years ago in "The Philosophy of Change" in elucidating Bergson reappears here. He does not employ illustrative material, as Royce repeatedly did, to render luminous to the lay mind abstruse conceptions. He draws very few historical comparisons to bring into relief the importance of particular doctrines. He indulges in personal criticism only to throw light upon the difficulties which Signor Croce raises for most thinkers. Nevertheless, by orderly consideration and extreme clarity of statement he places before the reader the master's thought. He constantly resorts to free translation or paraphrase of the Italian to lend authority to the exposition. One reads with wonder this calm contemplation of a system of thought. Into Professor Carr's study there can have entered few distracting echoes from the present world-shaking conflict.

The part of Signor Croce's thinking which has attracted deepest attention, particularly in America, is his æsthetic. Probably most students of literary criticism are not aware how thoroughly Professor J. E. Spingarn's deliverances are permeated by the theories of Signor Croce's epochal "Estetica," particularly the part which abolishes classifications and divisions of art reforms. But the position of the Italian, as the most revolutionary and penetrating thinker in the field since Kant, the father of æsthetic, is due to another aspect. Unlike Kant, he makes æsthetic activity the first grade in mental life and that on which all others depend. That is, it is intuitive. But whereas most philosophers say that "intuition is blind, the intellect lends it eyes," the Italian theorist maintains that it is the activity which characterizes, which gives us a knowledge of things in their concreteness and individuality. In his own words, "every true intuition is at the same time expression." In brief, beauty is expression, or at least successful expression.

Now this expressionist theory is so radical a departure that philosophers have often made fun of it. Certainly there are two fundamental problems which it raises: How can intuition be identified with expression? and, What is that matter to which this imaginative activity of the mind gives form? These questions reveal a shortcoming of Professor Carr's procedure. He has been careful to expound Signor Croce's meaning in faithful, ordered fashion, so much so that he too seldom launches into independent discussion of the bearings of the doctrine he expounds. It is only after pondering that one finds the first answer in the theory that the matter to which imagination gives form is a complex state of mind, that "the work of art is always and only internal." But the other problem the expositor dismisses lightly. How one can maintain the thoroughgoing identity of intuition and expression and yet believe in the communicability of æsthetic pleasure he hardly considers. For, according to Benedetto Croce, the picture into which the artist has put all his passion and thought can express to me none of his feelings, but only what I in my own mind have willed and felt. The painting can have no objective existence to serve as an external basis for communication except from the point of view of science. Philosophically I cannot intuit it unless it happens to express my own will. No picture nor any natural object can have a proper character to suggest to me my æsthetic activities. It is obvious, even in Professor Carr's systematic explication, that Signor Croce is intent above all else on avoiding the reproach of a dualistic hypothesis.

This English exposition, even though it would have been improved by a more critical spirit, will be welcome to students of æsthetics and philosophy. The great Italian should hereafter become a more familiar companion in our colleges and universities.

Contributors to this Issue

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Notes

HARPER & BROTHERS announce that they will publish immediately: "Huckleberry Finn," by Mark Twain, school edition; "The Second Bubble Book," by Ralph Mayhew and Burges Johnson; "Shakspere: His Mind and Art," by Edward Dowden; "Mimi," by J. U. Giesy; "Manners and Social Usages," by R. E. Sherwood.

Among the early June publications of John Lane Company are: "Rasputin and the Russian Revolution," by Princess Catherine Radziwill (Count Vassili); "Love Intrigues of the Kaiser's Sons," chronicled by William Le Queux; "Flower Name Fancies," designed and written by Guy Pierre Fauconnet; "The Development of British Landscape Painting in Water-Colors," the latest special number of the International Studio, by Mr. A. J. Finburg; "Messines and Other Poems," by Emile Cammaerts.

PATRONS of literature will be gratified to learn that some enterprising and venturesome scholars have sponsored a new historical review devoted to the history of that vast region which was colonized by the wayward children of Spain and Portugal. The founding of such a review was first formally proposed to North American scholars in the summer of 1916 in a letter to the *American Historical Review* by Professor William Spence Robertson and Professor Charles E. Chapman, who were in Argentina representing the Universities of Illinois and California respectively at an American Congress of Bibliography and History, held to commemorate the centenary of the declaration of Argentine independence. Arrangements were then made for a conference to discuss the proposed periodical at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Cincinnati in December, 1916. Later through the generosity of certain patrons of historical literature, among whom was "the Castilian-born" Mr. J. C. Cebrián, a citizen of the United States, the committee on organization had succeeded in raising a modest guarantee fund. It decided to christen the new review the *Hispanic American Historical Review*—this title to include all American countries and lands colonized by Spain and Portugal. The committee on nominations selected a board of editors to manage the new review, and the editors selected as managing editor Dr. James A. Robertson, who had served as chairman of the committee on organization. The first number of the new quarterly—belated because of these strenuous times, for it is dated February—has now appeared. It contains, as a species of dedicatory address, "A Letter from President Wilson," followed by articles, a bibliographical section containing an annotated bibliographical list of recent publications concerning Hispanic America, book reviews, news, and comment. The editors of the review intend to include in its pages articles in Spanish and Portuguese written by Hispanic-American scholars, as well as contributions by scholars in the United States. Its friends hope that it may express the aspirations of many scholars in the three Americas, win the coöperation of the widely scattered advocates of Pan-Americanism, and hasten the day of which Henry Clay fondly dreamed when North and South America will act together in world politics. As President Wilson happily said in his letter commending the project, it "ought to lead to very important results both for scholarship and for the increase of cordial feeling throughout the Americas."

ON the morning of April 30, the shells of the supercannon fell upon Paris, bombs rained from enemy aircraft, and the dread battle was raging but seventy miles away. Many people had fled the city. But the Paris Salon opened its doors. The *Vernissage* took place. The Grand Palais, the old home of the Salon, has for nearly four years (since the last exhibition of the Salon) been a Red Cross hospital, so the present exhibition is housed at the Petit Palais. The butterflies of fashion, if such still exist in France, were not there. People went, not to note "creations" in toilettes, but to look at pictures, to admire or criticise sculpture. Clemenceau's bust was there, and that marvellously active Prime Minister was also there and once more expressed his discontent with Rodin's work. Many of the painters and sculptors who formerly made the Salon are now fallen, crippled, or captured by the enemy. But some are still able to guide brush and chisel even amid warfare, and a new group of artists has grown up since 1914. This is essentially a war Salon; opened as it was amid shell fire, it is almost a Salon at the Front. And it is the finest proof to the enemy and to the world that the "moral offensive" has utterly failed.

ANOTHER trumpet of revolt against the hypocrisy and inanity of best-sellers is "From Shakespeare to O. Henry," by S. P. B. Mais (Dodd, Mead; $1.50 net). He is impatient with the British public for wanting to read novels as a diversion. "No," he shouts, "the modern novel is not a diversion at all, but a new religion, an essential factor in education, a complete guide to the art of living." His criticism, though not innocent of paradox, seeks to disengage the themes of the naturalistic school and to discover the reason for their disquieting realism. At the same time he is a temperamental writer, a man of moods and varied interests. To be sure, there is a long chapter on Samuel Butler, and the bizarre title might indicate academic preoccupations, but as a matter of fact Mr. Mais delights most in recent poetry. His paper on Shakespeare was merely the discharge of a tercentenary obligation. His animadversions on O. Henry smack of curiosity, even though he does engage in a serious discussion of O. Henry's recurring themes and does emphasize, perhaps disproportionately, his interest in social problems. But over poetry Mr. Mais becomes enthusiastic. In fact, in that field "this age," he declares, "need fear comparison with no other in the whole range of English literature." His views here are nevertheless more orthodox than in fiction. Our *vers libre*, for example, he refers to as "a chaotic, disordered, formless type of versifying." His relish for Masefield, Brooke, and a score of lesser fame is so spontaneous, genuine, and personal as to become contagious. Of peculiar interest now are his remarks on war verse in Great Britain and the several specimens of poetry written by his own pupils.

WHY is it that so many recent books about American government, especially such as are written in a popular vein or with the idea of promoting good citizenship among the foreign born, end by raising almost as many questions as they answer? "Our Democracy: Its Origins and its Tasks," by Prof. James H. Tufts (Holt; $1.50 net), is a case in point. Here is an attempt to explain, in a simple and non-technical way, the origin and growth of ideas of coöperation, order, and liberty in human society

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generally, and the particular development of liberty, union, and democracy in the United States. The first part of this large and useful task has been performed with real distinction, and with an easy mastery of a wide range of material not often drawn upon in books of this character. The second part, also, starts off well enough; but when Professor Tufts begins to appraise the present characteristics of American democracy, he becomes more and more conventional. Labor and capital have made, in their respective ways, important contributions to social development and welfare, but they are still organized in essentially hostile camps; "invisible government" has pursued many an evil course, but there have been clear historical reasons for its existence, and it has not yet been overthrown; the Federal Constitution has somehow safeguarded liberty, while at the same time establishing a system of political irresponsibility; and we have not yet progressed far enough along democratic lines to get rid of distressing inequalities of economic condition and opportunity. We feel quite sure that Professor Tufts has had no intention of leaving his readers with the final impression that American political society, while much in need of overhauling, it is not so imperfect as it might be, or that the masses of the American people are really better off than they think they are; but the contrast between this rather trite treatment of current problems and such an epoch-making survey of the democratic field as is found in the reconstruction programme of the British Labor party, is certainly marked.

THREE recent books recount the war work of English women. In "Women of the War" (Doran; $1.25 net), Barbara McLaren gives a series of brief pictures of those women who have been most active in medicine, surgery, hospital management, nursing, munitions works, relief distribution, concert parties, agricultural labor, and the organization of women police and patrols. Of less value are "The Canteeners" (Dutton; $1.50), by Agnes M. Dixon, who chattily describes her work under the French Red Cross, ministering to the cheer and comfort of the soldiers, and "A War Nurse's Diary" (Macmillan; $1.25), anonymous and rather flippant sketches of devoted bravery in one of the first Belgian Field Hospitals.

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Art and Archaeology

The Mounds of Macedonia

THE various fragmentary reports of archæological finds made in Macedonia during the war have aroused special interest, as little was known previously of the archæology of that country. Prof. E. A. Gardner, the noted English archæologist, in the London *Times*, has recently given the first comprehensive statement of the scope and importance of these discoveries. A brief summary of Mr. Gardner's article follows:

During the first months after the landing of the Allies at Salonica there was little time for the study of antiquities. But when the army of occupation had settled down in the country interest awoke in the ancient remains to be seen on every side. Under military authority, both British and French, a general order was issued that any archæological discovery in the trenches or elsewhere should be reported to headquarters, and that portable antiquities, if of sufficient importance or value, might be recorded and collected together in safe custody. For this purpose a provisional museum was established by the British authorities in the White Tower, placed at their disposal by the Greek Government, while the French also made a collection in a temporary building. Fortunately, both expeditionary forces included a certain number of trained archæologists. The discoveries made have for the most part been accidental.

The most characteristic archæological feature of Macedonia is the remarkable series of mounds visible throughout the country, especially in the plains near the sea and on the lower slopes of the surrounding hills. These mounds fall under two types, the regular conical tumuli and the more or less irregular, usually oval mounds which mark the site of an ancient village or town. The tumuli are merely artificial cones of earth piled over a tomb, usually built of stone or marble. Those hitherto explored are mostly of the Hellenistic age, but it is possible that some of them belong to an earlier period. Such tumuli, especially if of any size, can be opened only by extensive digging, but they offer the best prospect of discovering valuable treasures.

The other class, which may be called village mounds, offer scope for casual investigation. They are stratified and appear to have been in use for a long period. The pottery discovered in them is similar in character to what is found in Thessalian mounds dated about 3000 B. C. The Macedonian pottery, though it has affinities with the Thessalian, has an individual character of its own. It is always hand-made, without the use of the potter's wheel, and in the finer examples is usually hand-polished. In the earlier strata it is often ornamented with applied strips of clay, pressed by hand into ornamental patterns, or with a decoration of incised lines which sometimes retain the remains of white pigment that once filled them. Zigzag and simple geometrical patterns are common, as are large spirals also. This style of ornamentation overlaps in its later stages with painted designs in dull pigments, brown to purple in color, and similar in their répertoire of patterns. Much of this pottery, from the very earliest times, is of fine delicate texture. Some isolated specimens have almost the appearance of fine china, with red designs on a creamy white surface; others, burnt black above and red below, have zigzag designs in white pigment. These early wares are succeeded by rougher and coarser products, often painted.

It seems an obvious inference that Macedonia possessed in early prehistoric times—say, about 3000 B. C.—a civilization that was highly developed in the skill of its handicraft, and that had a distinct character of its own. It may probably have had affinities with the north; the great trade-route through the Vardar valley to the Danube, which plays so important a rôle in modern Balkan politics, was then, in all probability, already known and used. On the other hand, beyond some connections with Thessaly, there does not seem to have been much relation or intercourse with Greece or the Ægean. There seems to have been a constant deterioration in local handicrafts from earlier to later prehistoric times.

Finely polished objects of the Neolithic period are not uncommon. An interesting discovery, made in the lowest stratum of one mound, was a grain store, discolored but in excellent preservation, consisting of wheat, millet, and sesame, all

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of them of good cultivated quality. An experiment was made of sowing some of them, but, as was to be expected, with no result. It would therefore appear that at this early date, as in Roman times, Macedonia was the rich grain country which it might well become again under favorable conditions.

The finest discovery of later period was that of a series of tombs of about the seventh or eighth century B. C. Some of these were of men, some of women; they contained ornaments of gold and of bronze, with incised decoration. This find is particularly valuable, owing to the absence of other archæological evidence from the same period in Macedonia. It is worthy of note that the ornamentation of these objects did not resemble that found in Greece at the same date, but that discovered at Hallstatt and elsewhere in Central Europe, thus showing the tendency of Macedonia, at this time as in the earlier period, to connect itself with the north rather than with the Ægean area.

Among less portable antiquities there are several stone or marble tombstones, mostly of the usual Macedonian type, square *cippi* with an inscription and sometimes a relief. Among the inscriptions found, there is one of peculiar interest from its apposite contrast with modern conditions. It was set up in a gymnasium in honor of a public-spirited citizen—an honest army contractor—who, in the time of the Emperor Hadrian, supplied the people of Salonica, and also the Emperor's armies, with corn and wine and beans and other commodities at a rate far below the current price.

G. M. A. RICHTER

Democracy and the Arts

OPTIMISM over achievements and prospects in art for America was dominant at the ninth annual convention of the American Federation of Arts held in Detroit on May 23 and 24. Hardly a note was sounded, indeed, expressive of the difficulties of democratizing the arts in a land still only partially democratic. Out of most of the discussions shone a simple and healthful faith in euthenics: create surroundings in which the arts are honored, and people will respond to their influence.

The tawny building of the Arts and Crafts Society of Detroit, opened in 1916, was said by more than one delegate to represent one of the greatest of recent American community accomplishments. Here have been focussed, thus far with most gratifying financial as well as æsthetic success, the artistic interests of a large city. The personalities of a few workers who have been especially active in doing this good thing for Detroit became for the first time really known to many of the delegates from a distance: Mr. George Booth, the Society's first president, who ten years ago laid down the aims and methods of work followed conscientiously ever since; Miss Helen Plumb, secretary of the Society from the outset, whose taste, tact, and resourcefulness have done as much as all else to make it what it is; the Misses McEwen, whose decorative and executive ability merits a stronger word than talent; Mr. Sam Hume, who has made the little theatre one of the best of its kind.

Among the papers presented, that of Prof. Walter Sargent, of the University of Chicago, on "The Training of Designers," was professionally notable in its protest against the practice, now very common in schools of design and in the public schools, of ignoring the specific and pictorial in favor of the geometrical and abstract. His analysis showed that, considered historically, nearly all the abstract motives of ornament started as pictographs. The designer begins by representing the likeness of something which has interested him, to be used as a symbol as well as a decoration. As the motive is repeated until its execution becomes automatic, successive eliminations of the life-like elements take place. The ultimate residual is abstract notation, worshipped in some quarters as an artistic divinity sprung full formed from the head of Jove. By experimenting with rapid repetition of exercises in drawing familiar objects, Mr. Sargent has obtained from pupils in a few weeks' performance abstract motives which are strikingly like those arrived at unconsciously in the centuries that educed historic ornament. Mr. Sargent concluded: "If the highest form of decoration were, what I do not believe it to be, abstract pattern devoid of any personal or symbolic content, a specific theme to begin with appears in the end to produce the richest and best organized pattern even from a formal point of view."

The claim of the fine arts to be considered in after-war planning was the central theme of Mrs. Herbert Adams's essay on "War Monuments." It seems unthinkable that after the present travail the land should be littered with any such soldiers' and sailors' monuments as were produced only too plentifully after the Civil War. Mrs. Adams, however, fears it is still possible that "we shall pass from the sublime in emotions to the ridiculous in sculpture." In this connection it is worth noting that the support of the Federation was secured for legislation to prevent individuals, associations, and groups of individuals from making gifts to other countries in the name of the United States without approval from the responsible public authorities. This unfortunately involved reopening the controversy over the Barnard Lincoln, at this writing awaiting shipment to England as a "substitute" for the Saint-Gaudens Lincoln. As proponent for Elihu Root, J. P. Morgan, and several others, Howard Russell Butler, president of the National Academy Association, offered a double resolution which unsparingly condemned the methods by which the "substitution" was effected and called for a law to prevent occurrences of this sort by making the sanction of the Federal Art Commission prerequisite. Needless to say, this resolution did not in any way reflect on Mr. Barnard's ability as a sculptor or on the good faith of Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Taft, who offered the Barnard Lincoln out of patriotic motives, and it was passed with only a few dissenting votes. Other resolutions adopted urged legislation requiring that war medals, insignia, and other similar memorials be passed upon by the Federal Art Commission; called for Government propaganda in behalf of art education, and expressed approval of the employment of architectural and town-planning experts in the Government's schemes for workingmen's homes.

Mr. William B. Stratton's illustrated talk on "Workingmen's Houses in Industrial Centres" revealed the outcome of some of Great Britain's expenditure of seven hundred million dollars to house war workers, and showed the results of American public and private enterprises of the past few months. While not uncritical of the dictum authoritatively announced from at least one governmental office, "beauty will have to be sacrificed to expediency," Mr. Stratton expressed himself as satisfied that generally wholesome results will come from the present coöperation of American architects and landscape architects in preparing homes for shipyard workers.

Much discussion of the old question of what the public really wants was aroused by a stimulating paper by Dr. Richard F. Bach, of Columbia University, on "Mobilizing the Art Industries." It would help to eliminate waste and improve public taste, said Mr. Bach, if the alert manufacturers of Grand Rapids, instead of revolutionizing fashions in period furniture every six months, would agree to resurrect only one dead style a season. One furniture firm has a record of 7,700 distinct designs, most of them constituting "an art gallery of forlorn hopes." Mr. Bach's remedy for such a situation would be the education of the public and the better training of designers.

As for education, the power of museums to help democracy discover its own capacity for enjoying works of art was set forth with example and precept in a delightful talk on "Exhibitions of Industrial Art" by Miss Louise Connolly, of the Newark Museum Association. Mrs. R. L. Scales, of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, presented a scholarly and closely reasoned essay on the Boston Museum's effort to interest children and young people through story-telling in the museum, through docentry, and through actual instruction in drawing and painting as an aid to appreciation.

A pregnant suggestion concerning the training of designers was made by Professor Sargent:

"At this time, when profound changes are pending, a discussion of the training of designers is more than appropriate; it is urgent. In a new social order which puts forth both a threat and a promise that it will have whatever is essential to the deeper human satisfactions, design will play an important part, because it is not a luxury, but is based on an inherited need; an elementary insistence that all objects shall not only serve practical purposes, but possess also some beauty or distinction, a hint or symbol of something which is one step at least beyond utility."

The adjustment of art education to the new social conditions and the question how art is to serve the needs of democratically organized society were the central themes of the Federation's meeting.

F. W. COBURN

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Finance

The Problem of Railway Rates

NO information is yet at hand to explain exactly what results are expected, in the Government's relations with the railways, from the extremely sweeping advances in freight and passenger rates. On the basis of the Government's own figures of the increase in operating costs in the present year, there would appear to be foreshadowed, all other things being equal, a profit to the Government of several hundred million dollars. All other things may not be equal; there may conceivably be still further advance in wages; cost of material is not absolutely fixed, and the first month or two of 1918 was a period of deficits. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to discover how the accounts of the Railway Administration come out at the end of the year.

Nobody wishes the Government to lose heavily on the operation, and it is undeniable that increase in rates, sufficient to counterbalance, or more than counterbalance, the rising costs of war-time operation, will vastly simplify the situation if and when the roads are returned to private ownership. To argue then for the necessity of continuing higher rates, because of continuing high costs, would be following the line of least resistance, when compared with asking an actual advance which had not been made in war time by the Government itself. That is the dilemma which the British railways will apparently have to face.

Nevertheless, some one is paying for the increased rates, and the larger the advance the more it necessarily pinches. The Railway Administration, it is true, is free from the misgivings which would beset a private management, making so great an increase in time of peace. Movement of freight at all events will not be checked on the present occasion, for the freight must move. On the other hand, it is undeniable that, in passenger travel especially, so sweeping an increase in rates will make due impression, when it occurs, as it does, in the face of an equally sweeping curtailment of conveniences and facilities. Perhaps after all this may be the actual solution of the familiar problem "whether the Government will ever let the railways go." If the present experiment convinces the people at large that public ownership or operation means fewer trains, fewer cars, scores of passengers standing in the aisles from Boston to New York and from New York to Washington, and that it also means an increase of 25 to 50 per cent. in the charge for enjoying these luxuries, the public may make up its mind accordingly, when the question comes up for settlement.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

POETRY AND DRAMA

Bates, K. L. The Retinue and Other Poems. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Buhler, M. E. The Grass in the Pavement. New York: J. T. White. $1.25.
Manners, J. H. Out There. Dodd, Mead. $1.25 net.
Parker, M. M. Louisiana. New Orleans: Hauser Printing Co.
Trench, H. Poems. With Fables in Prose. Two volumes. London: Constable.

THE ARTS

Hargrave, M. The Earlier French Musicians. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Lee, E. M. On Listening to Music. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Porter, A. K. Beyond Architecture. Boston: Marshall Jones. $2 net.

FICTION

Andrews, M. R. S. Her Country. Scribner. 50 cents net.
Bennett, A. The Pretty Lady. Doran. $1.50 net.
Blackwood, A. The Promise of Air. Dutton. $1.50 net.
Fleming, G. "Over the Hills and Far Away." Longmans, Green. $1.50 net.
Great Ghost Stories. Selected by J. L. French. Dodd, Mead. $1.50 net.
Hough, E. The Way Out. Appleton. $1.50 net.
Marbo, C. The Man Who Survived. Translated by F. H. Potter. Harper. $1.35 net.
McCutcheon, G. B. Shot with Crimson. Dodd, Mead. $1 net.
Miller, A. D. The Happiest Time of Their Lives. Century. $1.40.
Quiller-Couch, A. Foe-Farrell. Macmillan. $1.50.
Raine, W. M. The Sheriff's Son. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Shields, G. M. Caste Three. Century. $1.40 net.
Worth, P. Hope Trueblood. Holt. $1.50.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Rinehart, M. R. Tenting To-night. Houghton Mifflin. $1.75 net.
Rudnitsky, S. Ukraine. Rand, McNally.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Carson, W. E. Northcliffe. New York: Dodge. $2 net.
Davis, W. S. The Roots of the War. Century. $1.50 net.
Green, J. R. A Short History of the English People. Revised, with Epilogue by A. S. Green. American Book Co. $2.
Hansen, M. L. Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858. State Historical Society of Iowa.
Jusserand, J. J. The French and American Independence. Scribner.
Pumpelly, R. Reminiscences. Two volumes. Holt. $7.50 net the set.
Schultz, J. W. Bird Woman. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Stevens, C. M. Joan of Arc. New York: Cupples & Leon. $1.50 net.

NATURAL SCIENCE

Fabre, J. H. The Wonders of Instinct. Translated by A. T. De Mattos and B. Miall. Century. $3 net.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

Ferguson, C. The Revolution Absolute. Dodd, Mead. $1.50 net.
Hart, H. L. The Bulwarks of Peace. London: Methuen.
Putnam, J. W. The Illinois and Michigan Canal. University of Chicago Press. $2 net.
The Reports to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. Edited by J. B. Scott. Oxford University Press.
Withers, H. The Business of Finance. Dutton. $1.50 net.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Adler, F. An Ethical Philosophy of Life. Appleton. $3 net.
Brightman, E. S. The Sources of the Hexateuch. Abingdon Press. $3 net.
Forsyth, P. T. This Life and the Next. Macmillan. $1.
Fosdick, H. E. The Challenge of the Present Crisis. Doran. 50 cents net.
Jastrow, J. The Psychology of Conviction. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50 net.
Lang, C. G. The Miracles of Jesus. Dutton. $1.60 net.
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Whiton, J. M. The Life of God in the Life of His World. Funk & Wagnalls. 60 cents net.

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Wilson, W. President Wilson's Addresses. Edited by G. M. Harper. Holt.

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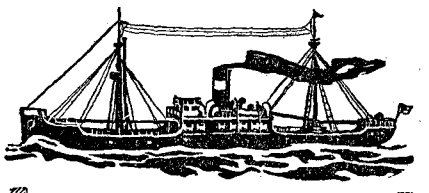

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Summary of the News

THE renewed German offensive, in our last report, had carried the enemy across the Aisne River. Since then his advance has been pressed steadily forward, in spite of vigorous counter-attacks, on the line between Soissons and Rheims, so that, at this writing, he has captured the heights of Passy, taken possession of Château Thierry, and is within forty miles of Paris itself. On May 28 the Germans swept on beyond the Chemin des Dames, pressed forward between Vailly and Beaurieux, gained ten miles, captured 15,000 prisoners and a large amount of war material, and crossed the River Vesle at Fismes. On May 29 Soissons was taken, the German circle of advance was extended southward between Soissons and Rheims to within fifty-eight miles of Paris, and 10,000 prisoners were captured. On May 30 the enemy drove on in a southwesterly direction towards the Marne, capturing 10,000 prisoners and immense stores of artillery and war material at Soissons, Braisne, and Fismes. On May 31 he had reached the Marne in an eight-mile drive, had closed in on Château Thierry, and reported that a total of 45,000 prisoners, more than 400 guns, and thousands of machine guns had been taken. On June 1, following up this successful drive towards the Marne, he pushed forward on the western flank of the salient, advanced along the Ourcq River into the region beyond Neuilly, and stood within forty-three miles of Paris. On June 2 the advance had slowed up, and in several cases the Allies by counter-attacks recaptured small towns. The enemy's gain on a five-mile front was about three miles, the line between Neuilly and Château Thierry marking the farthest advance of the wedge towards Paris.

RESULTS achieved in this first week's attack on the Aisne front must be considered as only part of the general plan of the German spring offensive. Gen. von Hutier, the conqueror of Riga, is credited with the new plan of attack, which in its first phase gained thirty-five miles between St. Quentin and Amiens; in its second phase advanced 15 miles between Lille and Hazebrouck; and now has driven forward between the Aillette and the Marne to within forty miles of Paris. The secret of this method is to take advantage of the German position on the inner side of the great salient in France by throwing forward their men at one part of the front and then at another much more rapidly than the Allies can bring up their reserves, since the Germans are working along the spokes of a wheel, and the Allies must work around the outer rim of the line of attack to meet each thrust. The attacks in Picardy, in Flanders, and in the Champagne have now brought the Germans back to the positions they occupied in 1914. Apparently all that the Allies can safely do at present is to throw enough men before the advancing lines to retard their progress. The arrival of Gen. Foch's reserves has apparently checked the present drive after the initial successes of a week, but this will merely mean that the next blow will be aimed at the Allied line where it has been weakened.

AMERICAN troops successfully passed through the ordeal of battle in the

(*Continued on next page.*)

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(*Continued from preceding page.*)
first offensive operation in which the forces of this country have been engaged since our entry into the war. It was a purely local attack on the Avre front, in which Americans captured the village of Cantigny and took 240 prisoners, in an advance of about one mile. The whole operation was a minor one, lasting only an hour, but it was entirely successful and proved the quality of our soldiers.

GERMANY carried her submarine offensive directly to the United States by sinking eleven vessels off the North Atlantic Coast during the first three days of June. Apparently one submarine began operations as early as May 25, when two schooners were sunk off the Delaware Capes and their crews taken aboard the submarine, where they were kept as prisoners for eight days. The largest ships to be attacked were the Carolina, of the New York and Porto Rico Line, of more than 5,000 tons, and the United States ship Texel, of 7,000 tons. No loss of life has been reported thus far. The number of invading submarines is not known at present, although reports indicate there may be as many as five. The ports of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston were ordered closed, following the attacks, and shipping interests have been advised from Washington that protective measures against the U-boats will be increased by providing escorts for outgoing vessels. The Navy Department has begun a thorough search of the coastal waters in order to sink or capture the submarines.

SUBMARINE sinkings of the week include the American transport President Lincoln on May 31. The Lincoln, a vessel of 18,000 tons, formerly a Hamburg-American passenger liner, was bound for this country when she was torpedoed off the French coast and sank within an hour. Twenty-six are reported missing.

IRELAND has continued quiet since the arrest of the Sinn Fein leaders and the recent changes in the Irish Government. Conscription will not be pressed by the British Government for the present, it is tacitly agreed; and the Irish Home Rule bill will not be ready for introduction for several weeks. The Mayor of Limerick has refused to take the oath of allegiance before exercising his magisterial functions, and Limerick and Tipperary are threatened with martial law. The Irish Nationalist leaders of Parliament have not yet returned to Westminster.

RUSSIA continues to be a bone of contention in the press between those favoring armed intervention and those supporting a policy of economic and industrial aid. In Russia itself bourgeois and Bolshevist newspapers seem to be unanimous in expressing opposition to Allied intervention, holding that the occupation of a part of Siberia would not be disadvantageous to the Germans and might turn out badly for Russia. There seems to be complete agreement among the Bolsheviki that no Allied help is desired that would result in Russia's reentering the European war. Baron Goto, Japan's Foreign Minister, in reply to a question as to the compensation that Japan would demand for intervention, said that this would depend on such varying circumstances as the size of the army, the extent of the field of operations, and other demands. Meanwhile, the Chinese Ambassador at Tokio has protested to the Japanese Government against the transfer to Japan by Russia of part of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

SWEDISH ships aggregating 400,000 tons have been released to the United States and the Allies under the terms of a commercial agreement just made between the two Governments. Sweden is in real distress for breadstuffs, and a reduction of the bread rations will soon be necessary. Swedish stores of grain will last only until August, and the country needs 67,000 tons of grain to get along until the harvest. In return for the ships Sweden will get more liberal treatment in securing food rations, raw materials, and manufactured products.

GOVERNMENT war expenses, including loans to the Allies, ran above $1,500,000,000 for May, a jump of more than $300,000,000 over the normal monthly rate. Tentative estimates indicate that expenses for the next six months will go steadily higher, and it was in expectation of the large funds that must be raised by the next Liberty Loan in the autumn that President Wilson, in his revenue address before Congress on May 27, explained the Government needs for the next fiscal year. Estimates for the six months between July 1 and December 31, 1918, assume that $11,000,000,000 will have to be provided for that period.

LABOR news of interest includes the announcement that Gov. Hunt of Arizona has attacked the Bisbee deportations of last year in the strongest terms. In his message to the State Legislature he describes the act of sending workmen from Bisbee into the desert as "a dastardly crime done under the pretence of patriotism." Gov. Hunt quotes from the report of the President's Mediation Commission to prove that neither sinister influences nor the I. W. W. accounted for the strikes that were the ostensible excuse for the deportations, but that the cause of these strikes was to be found in remediable industrial disorders.

THE National War Labor Board has announced that the Western Union Telegraph Company has refused to compromise on the question of relations between employers and employees, and therefore the Board could not mediate the question of the discharge of 800 employees by the company because they had insisted on their right to join a union. Since the National War Labor Board lacks power to take action, it has made public the refusal of the company to accept a proffered compromise. A campaign has been begun for immediate legislation to place telegraph lines under Federal control.

MRS. ROSE PASTOR STOKES, of New York, the well-known Socialist and labor leader, was sentenced on June 1 to ten years' imprisonment in the Missouri State Penitentiary on each of three indictments charging her with violation of the Espionage act, the sentences on the three counts to run concurrently. Judge Van Valkenburgh, in the Federal Court at Kansas City, where the trial occurred, declared that he regarded her case as part of a systematic opposition to war, and overruled the motion for a new trial. Mrs. Stokes has been released on $10,000 bail, and has been allowed sixty days to file a bill of exceptions and appeal to the United States Circuit Court.

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